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(Newāh Vijñāna)

A Journal Of Newar Studies

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To Dr. Tej Ratna Kansakar – With highest Regards. Uma

Newāh Vijñāna

(A Journal Of Newar Studies)
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Introduction

This journal attempts to reveal and preserve the richness of Nepal's Newar culture, its traditions and customs, its history and arts, its literature and music, and its language and linguistic heritage. More succinctly, it tries to provide a forum for a varied range of topics and issues pertinent to Newars, not only in Nepal but to Newars all around the world, and to anyone interested in Newar culture.

A few words are in order about the genesis of this journal. The idea for this journal was first conceived in 1992, when the establishment of the Nepal Bhasa Academy (NBA) was publicly announced in the newspaper Viswa Bhumi in Nepal. The NBA began by acknowledging a need for the study of the culture and the linguistic heritage of Newars, a topic neglected nationally for many years. However, a medium for addressing this need was lacking. In the following years, a persistent demand for a national forum for Newars emerged, and shortly thereafter, a national convention of Newars was held in Kathmandu; the Newah De Dabuu (National Forum for Newars), a body that was primarily initiated by the political agenda to assure Newars of their political rights, was formed in Kathmandu. However, there was still no forum for an academic exploration and promulgation of ideas and issues pertinent to Newars.

We hope this journal will fill this gap and provide a forum for the academic inquiry into the many issues and topics of concern to Newars. This is especially important given the fact that Newars not only live in Nepal but are also scattered around the globe. Many foreign scholars have and are undertaking important research activities about Newars and their language, while many natives are doing the same. But an open exchange between these groups is lacking, and this journal attempts to meet that need.

When we distributed the flyer, calling for articles and information, we used the word Newarology as the title of the journal; however, we have received numerous sugestions to the effect that we changed the title to the Journal of Newar Studies. We have agreed to this title change. Furthermore, we have decided to adopt the names Nepal Bhasha or Newar for the language of Newars instead of the popularly used name Newari.

Many individuals behind the scenes deserve our thanks and acknowledgements for their help with this journal. It is, however, impossible to thank all of them, but there are some to whom we are greatly indebted that we want to mention here. We would like to first thank the School of Liberal Arts and Sciences, Western Oregon University for its generous financial support, without which this journal would not be possible. We are particularly moved by the University's efforts to recognize the importance of diversity not only in contemporary America but also in the world at large. Our special thanks go to Dr. David Hargreaves, California State University at Chico, who meticulously worked through each manuscript written in English and provided us with a substantive critique of each. We are indebted to Dr. Mohan Narayan Shrestha for his advice and interest. We are also very grateful to Katherine Watkins, Kelsang Shakya, Bob Bowman and Sudip Shakya for their invaluable assistance in preparing the manuscript. We extend our warm appreciation to Yam Bahadur Pun for his help in graphic setting. Finally, we would like to thank all our contributors and individuals who have sent us information about Newars around the world; Prof. Barbara Brower, Portland State University for letting us use all issues of Himalayan Research Bulletin; and all of the individuals who have agreed to be representatives and subscribers to the journal to support it financially.

We would like to remind our readers that this journal is only the beginning; much more needs to be done in the field of Newar studies. We would like for you to send us comments, suggestions, information, and articles which we will circulate as valuable resources for generations to come.

This is the New Nepal Sambat Year 1118, which begins on the first day of the new moon in November. On this occasion, we express our hearty greetings to all of you and wish you a prosperous year. Nhu danyaa bhintunaa!

The Editors,
Daya R. Shakya
International Nepal Bhasha Sevaa Samiti

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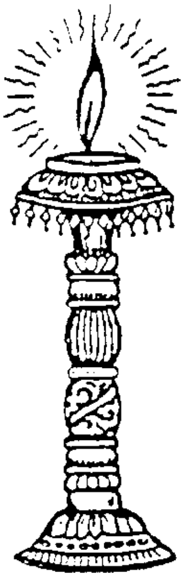

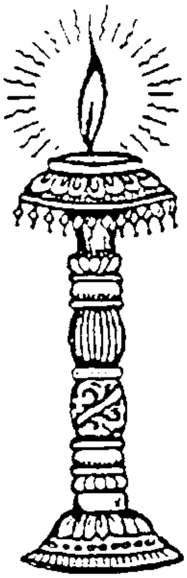

नेपाल संबत १११८ दँ क्यंगु लसताय्

अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय नेपाल भाषा सेवा समितिपाखें

न्हूदँया भिंतुना

नेपाल संबत १११८ को उपलक्षमा शुभकामना

Best Wishes

on the occasion of

New Nepal Sambat Year 1118

International Nepal Bhasha Sevaa Samiti

Portland, Oregon, USA

नेवा: विज्ञान

(Newāh Vijñāna)

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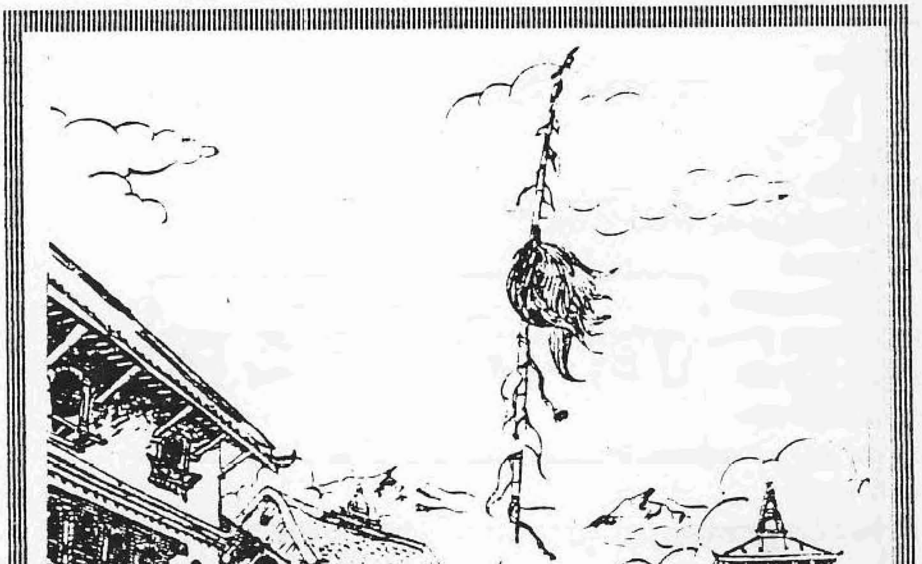


Jñānamālā Bhajan Khalah

(A Movement for building up the Newar Society)

Bhuwan Lal Pradhan
Kathmandu, Nepal

The *Jñanamala Bhajan Khalah* (lit, '*Jnan*' means 'knowledge', *mala* means 'wreath', but the word '*Jñanamala*' here means 'The Book of Buddhist Hymns' or 'Prayer Songs', '*Bhajan*' means 'recitation' or 'singing', and '*Khalah*' means 'a group of people or community', i.e., an association or organization, hence the whole term - '*The Jñanamala Bhajan Khalah*', "The Organization of the Reciters of Prayer songs from the Book of Buddhist Hymns") is a highly popular organization of those people who are interested in the recitation of Buddhist Prayer Songs. Its name is a reminder of the Prayer Songs, based on the sacred teaching of Lord Buddha, sung in chorus every morning at the top of the long stone steps boding to the Swayambhu Hill Summit in tune with the pleasant early morning atmosphere, making the whole environment peaceful and delightful. The big Stupa, Lotus pillars, other sacred spots, the gold-gilded thunderbolt, stone-ball, monastery, pilgrims, Prayer-wheels, birds, monkeys - every object there on seems to be enlivened. The atmosphere of holiness pervades and the Buddhist ideas of 'freedom from suffering', 'doing good to the majority of people', 'impermanence of everything in the universe', seem to influence anyone who happens to be on the spot at the moment.

To any visitors there, in an early morning the singing of these prayer songs, like any other object there on, may appear to have been part of the Holy Stupa or even of the whole summit. The listeners may turn away from their anxieties of the world and think of spiritual truth only. It may even seem that there would be none who might trouble those who participated in this regular programme. But, as a matter of fact, there did exist half a century ago one or two ill-disposed persons who cast an evil eye on this *Jñanamala Bhajan Khalah* and left no stone unturned in order to nip it in the bud. The following paragraphs throw some light on how an evil attempt intended to crush this *Khalah* itself led to its own legalization and popular expansion.

From the year 1930 A.D. when the genuine form of Buddhism was restored in the valley of Kathmandu by the then novice monk Karmashil (who later on became Rev Prajnanand, the Senior most Bhikshu of modern Nepal); more and more inhabitants of the valley, especially the younger were awakened. By the year 1937 A.D. they were inspired strongly enough to conduct the recitation of Buddhist hymns regulars at the Holy Swayambhu site. At that time a group of enthusiastic people - such as Ratna Das (Tahribhai) of Chhetrapati, Nar Bahadur (drummer), Sukra (a Brahaman) and a few others had been carrying on the regular recitation of Prayer songs in an inn atop the flight of stone steps leading to the summit of the Swayambhu Hill. But these songs were mostly about amorous activities of Hindu gods and goddesses. The daily visitors to the Swayambhu Stupa early in the morning unfailingly saw these people singing in the chorus there. Seeing this, some young men such as Ratna Bahadur Tandukar, Dwarika Das Shrestha, Nara Bahadur Manandhar of Watu, Indra Bahadur Manandhar, Tuyu Guruju, Ratna Das (Tahribhai), were inspired to conduct a similar recitation programme, but, of course, with Buddhist hymns. In no time they managed to get co-operation from Maharatna Shikharakar (musician). Siddhi Ratna Shikharakar (harmoniamist), and Ashta Ratna of Tebahal (artist). Then, they started the daily recitation programme of Buddhist hymns in the same inn. But there being no book of Buddhist hymns in Nepal Bhasha language even up to 1938 A.D., they took Buddhist songs from a book in Hindi.

The same year Bhikshu Prajnabhivamsha published in Nepal Bhasha (Newari) a book of Buddhist prayer songs, entitled '*Jñanamala*' at Matha Kunwar, Kushi Nagar, India. Bhikshu Dhammalok brought hundreds of copies of this book - Jñanamala into Nepal. Henceforth the Buddhist prayers at Swayambhu Hill-top were recited in Nepal Bhasha and the whole work came to be named, after the Book of *Jñanamala*, 'the *Jñanamala Bhajan*' (*Jñanamala* Prayer Songs Recitation). Thus came into existence the *Jñanamala* Prayer Song Recitation, and the organization associated with it was called 'the *Jñanamala Bhajan Khalah*'.

Meanwhile, the Monastic order, founded by Rev. Karmashil, continued expanding, the number of monks and nuns increasing day by day. The sermons delivered by them here and there in the valley helped

its people understand the real essence of Buddhism and various aspects of Lord Buddha's personality. They came to realize how very scientific and pragmatic his teachings were and to what extent they were conducive to universal peace and fraternity. The new generation, especially the educated people, was more and more attracted Buddhism. Consequently, the *Jñanamala Bhajan Khalah* became all the more popular. People began to attend in large numbers wherever its recitations were held.

In 1944 A.D., the Prayer inn atop the Swayambhu Hill badly needed to be renovated and extended; so, when funds were raised for this purpose, there was a keen competition among some donors - Sahu Asta Narayan Manandhar of Kamalachhi, Sahu Mohan and Sahu Heraman of Chokhachhen Galli and so on; ultimately each donated four hundred rupees. Altogether a sum of seven thousand rupees was collected. With this fund, the inn was widely extended together with an addition of a small building attached to it.

By the year 1944 A.D. people, in large numbers, began to attend not only the *Jñanamala Bhajan* Programmes but also other Buddhist programmes held at Kindol Vihar, Anandakuti Vihar and so on. Bigger masses of people gathered whenever occasional ceremonies were held at any monastery i.e., Vihar. As big gatherings of people were something that the Govt. of the Ranas wanted to avoid, it managed to banish in July 1944 all the monks under the pretext that they disobeyed government orders against worshiping Lord Buddha and delivering sermons on Buddhism. At this, people were more enraged, and they took this incident as a new offense added to the one from 1941, when four of the patriots were martyred and a good number of people imprisoned.

The *Jñanamala Bhajan Khalah*, in its turn, decided to parade, on the occasion of the full moon Day of the month of Magh(February), a procession of *Jñanamala* Prayer Songs Reciters from the Swayambhu Hill top to the Temple of the Lokeshwar (Matshyendra Nath) at Jana Bahal, Kel Tole. Accordingly, early in the morning that day of *Jñanamala Bhajan* Precisionists gathered together at the Hill-top in unusually large numbers. Melodiously reciting the Buddhist hymns, they went down the stone steps and proceeded towards the town. The mass of people participating in the processions extended without break from the Swayambhu Hill to Kel Tole. Though it is not known how the Rana Government viewed this incident, it apparently upset the Police Superintendent - Chandra Bahadur Thapa, who began to look for some excuse to end it.

One fine morning in November 1945 following the above mentioned incident, Chandra Bahadur Thapa, the Police Superintendent, appeared at the Prayer Inn followed by a large retinue of policemen. The policemen and their Colonel Thapa stood up surrounding the choir until the prayer was over. The colonel snatched away all the copies of *Jñanamala* at hand and then began to harass the reciters by asking a series of questions such as 'why do you use the book in the Newar language for recitation?', 'how dare you sing from a book not registered in the Govt. office?', 'why do you insult the national language - Nepali, by not using it?', and so on. Furthermore, he tried his best to intimidate all those present there by trying to accuse them in every possible way. While the wrangle was going on at the Inn, Lok Ratna, a member of *Khalah*, picked up all the remaining copies of *Jñanamala* book and tied them in a bundle unnoticed and slipped away from there. He carried them to the town safely. The Superintendent colonel ransacked the Prayer Inn and the new building attached to it, but he could find nothing else there. He then darted to another inn on the other side of the stone steps used by an old woman as a stall for selling flower, vermilion, incense and other worshiping materials to the visiting pilgrims. Her stall was thoroughly searched. She was threatened and heckled in vain. But from her stall too, nothing regarding the *Jñanamala* was found. He also noted their names and addresses and took away all the copies of the *Jñanamala* he had already seized.

Accordingly when the reciters appeared in the Police Office, they were made to undergo a trial and were released only on bail. Then they had to remain on bail for months and months. The seller of the book Jnana mala, Bhakta Bahadur, was also summoned and involved in this case along with them. For over one year, they had to present themselves at the Police court at short intervals. But the case seemed to be far from being tried. They were now taken from one commanding general to another. Later on they were also taken to the presence of commander-in-chiefs, Mohan Shumsher Rana. Superintendent Thapa used to poison the ears of Rana generals accusing the reciters of having sung Buddhist hymns from an illegal book in Nepal Bhasha, mocking Nepali, the national language, converting Hindus to Buddhism and so on. The fact that the top-ranking generals gave no immediate decision on the matter in question encouraged the members of the *Khalah* to carry on their programmes with greater zeal. Ultimately in 1947, they were told to present themselves before H.H. the Maharaja of Nepal, Padma Shumsher Rana. In the

presence of the Maharaja, too, Superintendent Thapa tried his utmost to incriminate them in all possible ways.

Pointing to Dwarikadas Shrestha, one of the reciters who was standing by, the Police Superintendent said, "Your highness, this man is a Hindu and Shrestha by caste, yet he follows the Buddhist recitation group." To this, Dwarikadas replied, "Is a citizen in this independent Hindu Kingdom not allowed to worship a god of his choice and recite a hymn? May I not worship God Mahadeva or Goddess Bhagavati or Lord Buddha as I like?"

At this, the Maharaja observed, "O colonel, what harm do you or I incur if that Shrestha turns a Buddhist ? If you like, you may also become a Buddhist. Anyone is free to worship or revere any deity of his or her choice."

Thapa then said, "Not only that, your Highness, these people hold up the national language, Nepali to mockery. Their Newari Book of Recitation deliberately distorts Nepali words. Besides, the book is neither printed in Nepal nor approved by the Government Publication Office. Hence the circulation of such an illegal book within the Kingdom must be stopped."

Refuting the argument of the Police Superintendent, the Maharaja said, "Regarding the incorrect words of the Nepali language as you say, such words in that book are not meant to mock the Nepali language. As some Newars cannot correctly pronounce certain words of the Nepali language, these reciters are just begging to be allowed to recite their prayers in their own language. In relation to the matter of their Prayer book which has been published abroad and brought into the country without the permission of the Government, it is merely a religious book of prayer songs, not concerned with Government affairs, hence not objectionable. Its Publication inside the country, too, is quite permissible. Do you think it is justifiable on the part of the Government not to allow the people to say their prayers in their own language? Is the Government to declare that hence forth in our kingdom no Mohammedan, no Gurung, no Tamang, no Limbu,, no Newar is allowed to worship his (or her) god or carry on prayer in his (or her) own language? Every citizen must be permitted to follow one's religion and perform religious rites in one's own traditional manner. In this regard the Government has nothing to object. Let these people go away with impunity and offer their worship and prayers in their own language."

It is here worth nothing that the Maharaja Prime Minister, Padma Shumsher Rana had by this time already ordered the Govt. Language Publication Office to approve books written in Newar language as well, subject to its prevalent rules and regulations. The above judgment dealt out by the Maharaja Prime Minister left no help for the Police Superintendent. The members of the *Khalah* - Ratna Bahadur Tandukar, Dwarikadas Shrestha, Badri Narayan Manandhar, Hari Krishna, Nati Kaji Shakya and others present there then offered their hearty thanks to the Maharaja and wished him all success and victory. Thus did the book of *Jñanamala* written in Nepal Bhasha, come to be legalized. In triumph all reciters returned.

They managed to hold a recitation programme the same evening at Juddha Sadak just in front of the house of Colonel Thapa. The members of the *Jñanamala Bhajan Khalah* and others associated with it gathered there in force. With great enthusiasm the hymns from the Book of *Jñanamala* were recited in Chorus. The melodious voice of singers resounded throughout the locality. Large numbers of people crowded around the choir. Trays, bowls, containers of various items of food were brought by the neighbors for the participants. The recitation went on almost for the whole night.

Dwarika Das Shrestha, in his turn, pursued Superintendent Thapa until all the copies of the Book of *Jñanamala* seized by the latter were restored. As the *Jñanamala Bhajan Khalah* obtained Government approval to function, there opened a wide avenue for its further expansion. The youth from different quarters of Kathmandu became its member and carried on recitation programmes in their respective localities. There was an even ever increasing demand for the book of *Jñanamala*, which ran through several editions within a very short time.

In addition to recitation programmes, the *Khalah* also extended its activities in such other fields as cleaning the Swayambhu area, urging its local people to try to keep it neat and clean, providing facilities to the pilgrims, etc. The *Khalah* seems to have drawn inspiration to conduct such activities from Rev. Narada Thera who had come to Kathmandu in December 1946 A.D., leading a good will delegation from Ceylon (Shri-Lanka). It was also at the request of Narada Thera that Maharaja Padma Shumsher Rana permitted the Bhikhus who had been banished in 1944 from Nepal to return and reside within the territory of the kingdom and also declared the Vaisakh Full moon day as a public holiday throughout the kingdom, it being the country wherein Lord Buddha was born.

Narada Thera, in one of his speeches delivered in Kathmandu, happened to observe that doing good to the majority of people, serving the needy and being charitable to them, working for the welfare of mankind among others constitute an essential aspect of Buddhism. Having been deeply impressed with his speech, some members of the *Khalah* rendered enthusiastic service to the suffering victims of the epidemic of Cholera which had broken out in Kathmandu during the summer of 1947. It was in this connection that the Paropkar Samstha, a charitable organization, came into existence the same year. What should be noticed here is that the *Khalah* had so far been conducting its activities without previously giving itself a formal shape, i.e., without forming any committee. So, immediately after the introduction of democracy in the country in February 1951 A.D., the activists of the *Khalah* assembled in May and arrived at the following decisions.

(1) A ten member working Committee was formed headed by Bhikshu Amritananda.
(2) The objectives set forth were:
  (a) to continue the recitation in the Inn at Swayambhu
  (b) to reform the Swayambhu site and also other monastery sites.
  (c) to render humanitarian service through the medium of *Jñanamala* recitation.

Accordingly, the *Khalah* set about the planting of trees on the Swayambhu Hill. In June 1951, as many as six hundred saplings were planted along the slopes of the Hill amidst an interesting function attended by the then Minister of Forest, Chuda Raj Shumsher Rana and a large number of other officials and people. Practically, H.M.G., carried on reffrostation works in other places. It was again the *Khalah* that widened the walk way around the foot hills of Swayambhu. While this work was going on, its volunteers daily went to the site and tirelessly watched over the road workers at work. Consequently, the road was widened markedly as seen today. Later on, the H.M.G. of Nepal made the road drivable for vehicles.

Another remarkable undertaking of the *Khalah* was the fourthnightly worship of Buddha. That is to say, its member and hundreds of others, on the eighth day of every fortnight, jointly visited one of the Bahals or Bahils (i.e. old monasteries) in the town, and recited the *Jñanamala* hymns for some hours. The programme initiated by the *Khalah* in 1960 continued for four years It brought the Shakyas and Bajracharyas of different Bahals and Bahils in close touch with the *Khalah* giving them an impetus to keep their sites.

In 1964, the *Khalah* also undertook the historical Buddhist pilgrimage to the four holy sites connected with the life of Lord Buddha - Lumbini, Bodhgaya, Saranath and Kushinagara. About five hundred pilgrims, both men and women, took part in it. They were also not only warmly received in India but also given an opportunity to see the then President and the Prime Minister. Such pilgrimages were undertaken later on as well, with equal success. Such activities of the *Khalah* continued for several years. But in the course of time, it began to stagnate. No more was its assembly convened; the working committee formed in 1951 ceased to meet. Ultimately, except for the regular Morning Recitation at the Swayambhu Hill-top, its activities virtually came to a standstill. It seemed as if it was suffering from effeteness. Hence arose the necessity of revitalization.

In July 31, 1992, a group of young men came forward and had the *Khalah* registered in the District Administration office. A written constitution was drafted and a new thirteen member working committee was elected under the Chairmanship of Bijuli Man Kansakar. Members to its other different organs were also for the first time elected. The constitution was adopted. The reorganization works were completed by 1993 January.

Soon after its recognition, the new Working Committee initiated various activities, meetings were held regularly and members started working with new zeal. Organizational, cultural and humanitarian activities were intensified. The old units were revived and several new units were established. With those in the districts, close contacts were kept. A few of the new exemplary deeds of the *Khalah* are briefly described below:

Weekly or fourthnightly worships in old Bahals and Bahils (monasteries) in the Valley, accompanied with playing of *Jñanamala* Prayer Songs, have also been revived.

An appeal was made to different Gunla *Bhajan Khalah* (local groups of musicians who play a set of Nepalese traditional musical instrument on a unique tune specified for the Nepal Sambat month of Gunla, which falls in August and September) demonstrate their respective musical arts and skills at the

Recitation Inn atop the Swayambhu Hill. In August and September 1994, as many as sixteen groups participated and to demonstrated their artistic skills in playing music on the seasonal Gunla tune.

In the initiative step of the Working Committee, the different Jñanamala *Khalah* units of the Valley met together and resolved to bring about uniformity in the recitation of *Jñanamala* hymns. The Working Committee some years back also convened in Kathmandu and successfully concluded the first ever conference of all *Jñanamala* units, which was attended by delegates from sixty eight units including one from Kalimpong, India, as well. A large number of other activists and supporters, too, enthusiastically attended the conference. This historical conference not only brought together hundreds of activists in this field and gave them a good opportunity to exchange their views, but also inspired them to a great extent to work for further development of the Buddhist Religion and culture, and ervice of humanity.

In course of its worship tours to different districts, the *Khalah* has so far visited Dharan and Saptari in the east and Trisuli, Baglung, Pokhara, Lumbini-Kapilwastu, Nepalgunj, Dhanagarhi in the west, carrying out its singing programme amidst repeated cheers from the audience everywhere. Similarly the *Khalah* celebrated last year's Buddha Day at Chitlang, a densely populated locality to the south of the Valley.

In the meantime the Jñanamala Prayer Songs have been gaining wide publicity through audio recording as well. The Ratnabata Prize, set up by one of the founders - Ratna Bahadur Tandukar, has added an impetus to its publicity and popularity, by annually rewarding one monk or nun, one musical player or composer, and active Jñanamala *Bhajan Khalah* unit.

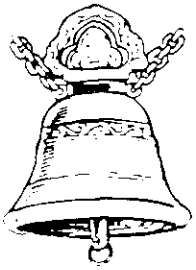
With a view to give continuity to its singing programmes, the *Jñanamala Khalah*, Swayambhu, has at present managed to provide free training for young beginners.

The *Khalah* also devotes itself to social services. for examples it provides first aid medical service for the pilgrims to the Swayambhu site and its member from time to time. It is also shortly installing a depot for Health Test Service.

Furthermore, an exhaustive account of all such activities and achievements were chronologically included in the Progress Reports, published in October 1993, and January 1996 . Recently in April 1995 a general assembly representatives from all units, met in Kathmandu for the second time, elected a 9 member and adhoc Committee to make necessary preparations to form a confederation of all units.

Following its activities in various fields, the *Khalah* seems to have gained wide publicity outside the country as well. For example, *Jñanamala* Prayer Songs have become highly popular in Tibet. A Japanese Buddhist priest who had come to Nepal was so much impressed with the singing of *Jñanamala* Prayer songs that he immediately taped and made musical notations of a good number of them. After some time, a Japanese Buddhist Team arrived in Kathmandu and its members sang at a concert a number of *Jñanamala* Prayer Songs with such an finesse and melody that the audience was taken aback. This *Khalah* has had the honor of receiving President Prof. Roman Harzog of Germany on his recent visit to Nepal in its Prayer Hall, Swayambhu and presenting him the singing programme of *Jñanamala* Prayer Songs.

Consequently, the *Jñanamala Bhajan Khalah* is no more limited to the Buddhist Community or certain Newars of Nepal alone. Buddhists of other countries who had happened to come into contact with the singing of *Jñanamala* Prayer Songs are found to have taken a fancy to them. It is a unique glory to all Buddhist organizations that exist in the country. In addition, it was an outcome of the *Jñanamala* incident that the foreign publication of Nepal Bhasha Book '*Jñanamala*', was legalized in Nepal during the Rana period. The *Jñanamala Bhajan Khalah* also made a contribution towards timely arousing political consciousness among the people. Moreover, it is a singular medium through which the teaching of Lord Buddha can easily reach the people direct. In short, in the context of Buddhism in the country the *Jñanamala Bhajan Khalah* certainly possesses its own identity, its own individuality, and its own place. (Taken from *Jñanamala Smarika*,1996)



Sii Guthi : A Newar Funeral Organization in Kathmandu[1]

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Literarylly, *Sii-* means death and '*Guthi*' means community organization in Newar language[2]. Among the Newars, the *Sii Guthi* refers to an organization which is responsible for the funeral rituals of the community members. The "*Sii Guthi*" discussed here is from a particular community of Vajracharyas and Shakyas[3] of Makhan Ba ha and Bahi[4]. The Makhan Baha and Bahi are the two enclosed courtyards located in Makhan Tole (a locality in the middle of Kathmandu city near the Darwar Square). This *Guthi*, established about 200 years ago, was constituted with one male member for each Vajracarya and Shakya family of the Makhan baha and the bahi. Only the eldest male person of a family may become a member of the *Sii Guthi*. There is no land property or any other kinds of funds for this particular *Guthi* except the contribution made by the *Guthi* members. However most of the *Guthi*s in Nepal have their own land property . The *Guthi* was established with a view to aid families when someone dies within the community. The *Guthi* also organizes spiritual rituals and celebration every year.

The main function of the *Guthi* is to arrange a funeral ceremony. The funeral is held as a procession from the dead person's house to the cremation site with a special musical band. Traditionally, only the male members of the family (relatives and friends) are allowed to participate in the procession of the funeral ceremony. All the immediate relatives walk barefoot sobbing and crying. They wear (wrap) a three layered typical 'dhaka' shawl. The dead body is carried in two ways according to the family members or the dead person's wish:

First, by laying the body on a carriage made of bamboo and wood ,

Secondly, making the body sit in easy or lotus position on a chariot made of sandal wood.

The *Guthi* members carry the corpse on their shoulders. If the second way is arranged, a special ritual needs to be done and nobody should cry during the whole funeral procession and the rituals. When a child dies , the body is carried by hand by a male member.

For the funeral ceremony, the *Guthi* members are divided into four categories to perform tasks as follows:

1. To notify a message of death to the *Guthi* member families,
2. To nominate people who should carry the corpse,
3. To take care of proper cremation of the dead body,
4. To do other work such as acquiring the essential ritual requirements, decorating the bamboo carriage or chariot with garlands made of flowers and puffed barley, etc.

These categories of work responsibility are distributed to the members in a rotation for each occurrence of death among the *Guthi* members. The work responsibility is notified to responsible members by visiting them (these days by telephone) on the funeral day. All the members must attend the funeral procession. It is interesting to note that after the body is completely cremated, the male member who set fire to the corpse takes remains of the ash and shapes it into a small body in a basket 'dhaki', and floats it into the river.

There are certain rules of charging a fine for those who fail to do the funeral work responsibility. Certain amounts of money are fixed for each work responsibility, but the responsibility of carrying the corpse is not an easy one, so the fine is doubled if a responsible person does not show up. Each of these fines is doubled if the ceremony takes place at night so that members are obliged to fulfill their responsibility. The rule of obligation to carry the corpse is very strict. Any member who has the duty of carrying it can pay a fine; however, the same responsibility will remain for him until he actually performs

this task in the future occurrence of death among the *Guthi* members. The fined amount is collected in the *Guthi* fund.

The annual celebration of the *Guthi* day is performed for three days during the period of Holi (a springtime festival celebrated by sprinkling and splashing red vermilion and colored water to each other[5]). To celebrate the *Guthi* day, members take turns as *Guthi* coordinator every year. All the members meet on those three days. The yearly function of the *Guthi* includes the annual meeting, making decision on various agendas including *Guthi*'s function, updating rules and regulations, and organizing a feast for all the members.

On the first day of the meeting, the members calculate how much money is left on their account and then decide how much they have to contribute for this year's celebration. They also decide how much money they should keep aside in case of someone's death in a low income family within the community. The first day start with the opening ritual at the secret shrine[6] of the baha. Along with the worship of the deity, ritual songs with rhythmic bells are sung to please the deity. The message of celebration is sent to the deity by the specific rhythmic sound of long trumpets and horns of buffaloes. Cleaning of the deity house, cleaning, oiling, and painting of ritual swords, musical instruments, etc. are also done on this day. Some of them prepare food for the feast. On this day, they prepare some special Newar dishes like "bullaa" (a soup made of solid remains of rice beer mixed with bone marrow, soft bones and spices), "*tahkhaah*" (jelly of meat and skin soup), "*sanyaakhunaa*" (sour and spicy hot jelly of meat and skin soup, mixed with a kind of pleasant smelling dry fish called '*sanyaa*'), "*laawo-lapee*" (meat balls and meat patties), etc. The members are allowed to take a big share of the feast for their families after they eat there..

The next day, together with traditional ritual songs, worship and feast, the members call a meeting. They talk over some important events concerning deaths, *Guthi* rules, finance, etc. On this day, the special dishes tahkhaah and sanyaakhunaa are distributed to the members to take home. The rice beer and liquor are served with every meal and feast. Female members of the coordinator's family are allowed to help in cooking, but, the distribution of liquor is under control of women only[7]. In the evening when the feasting and drinking are over, they return home.

The last or the third day is celebrated on the full moon day of the Holi festival. On this day, the members gather in the kitchen of the deity house and prepare food. Then they visit the pitha 8 shrine for rituals and feast. The Pitha shrine of the Makhan baha is located at the bank of Vishnumati river near 'Kanga Ajimaa' (The Chaamundaa Devi temple), which is one of the eight guardian deities of Kathmandu city. The worshiping tradition of the pitha shrine deity reflects the welfare of the people. The members then sing various ritual songs of the Kanga Ajimaa and offer liquor, beer and feast to the deity. When the ritual is over they eat prasaad (Holy food) and finally, they play Holi by pouring red vermilion powder on each other and sing the Holi folk songs on their way back to Makhan baha. This is a very enjoyable time, so singing and dancing in a group take place. The red vermilion powder is sprinkled and rubbed on their head to toe by each other. They sing songs and express their enjoyment inside the ba ha and go around the '*Chiba ha*' (Buddhist Pagoda). Then they go to the deity-house for the final celebration.

At that time, they perform the final ritual by passing the *Guthi* responsibility to the next coordinator for the coming year. Both the current and the next coordinator stand opposite to each other, while the eldest members chant some religious prayers and sing chacha or charyaa songs. Then the new coordinator takes the oath. The thaka li (eldest member) directs step by step during this final ceremony. The former coordinator clears his account to all the members, passes the account book to the new coordinator, and hands over the religious books, musical instruments, utensils whatever belonging to the *Guthi*, to the new co coordinator wishing him success. In this way, the Makhan baha *Sii Guthi* day celebration comes to an end.

The *Guthi* celebration responsibility is passed on according to the seniority of the member by age. The turn actually comes once in a life to a member. If the sons or brothers of a member started to live separately with their families and want to join the *Guthi*, they are allowed to do so. However, the very next year the eldest son or the eldest brother, thus separated, has to take the responsibility of being a coordinator, and the younger one becomes coordinator in the following year.

The three-day long *Guthi* celebration also has some rules of paying fine. Every member must work in preparing the feast. If he is absent, another male member from his family can work instead. But

female members can not go as substitutes. If nobody goes from a family to work, the family has to pay fine to the coordinator.

The *Guthi* has a special rule for the family in which only female members exist. Such a family is a member of *Sii Guthi*, but the females do not have to take any responsibility for the *Guthi* work. If *Guthi* families are living abroad or out of the Kathmandu Valley, the *Guthi* is not concerned about the death of their members. But if some one in the family dies abroad and his family members informs the *Guthi* about his/her death, it arranges a peculiar funeral ceremony. In such cases, instead of the dead body, a person's shape is inscribed on a boiled duck egg. Then it is kept on an open basket along with the dead person's *jaatah* (Zodiac chart of a person's birth). Now this basket is carried with the funeral precession. This kind of funeral is organized secretly at mid-night without a funeral band, and the procession actually starts after every body has gone to sleep. This is done so because of the belief that any looker who comes face to face with the deities, dies instantly. Another rule of the *Guthi* is that if a male family member has an inter-caste marriage, then the *Guthi* does not arrange a funeral for the death of the wife.

There is a superstitious belief among the Makhan Baha people about the *Guthi*'s bamboo used for carrying the dead body. The bamboos are always kept above the first floor open space out side of the deity house. Even to this day, the baha people believe that they hear the rattling sound of the bamboos at mid-night before someone dies. Whenever they hear this sound they say that they can predict that someone will die next morning,

Though the *Guthi* has no property of any kind, it is running sound to this day. It does not even have its own cooking utensils for the *Guthi* celebration. All the cooking utensils are borrowed from the members. The *Guthi* of Makhan baha is existing only because of the interest and good will of the member families. The organizing expertise of this community is another reason for the *Guthi*'s existence.

Another important function of the *Guthi* is to keep record of important events such as birth, deaths, marriage, family size, sex and age distribution of the families, household numbers, and migrating population in the community. Such a system acted as a demographic data collection when the vital registration had not been adopted in the world. In ancient time, when Kathmandu was a principality with a small population, and when almost every community had their *Sii Guthi* and other *Guthi*s , organizing, planning, and cooperating within the communities were smooth and easy. Unfortunately, the "traditional vital registration" system, thus practiced, started to disappear as communities abandoned such *Guthi*s.

Apparently, the *Sii Guthi*s are slowly vanishing from some Bahas and other communities. People are beginning to see its drawbacks and, forget about its merits. If some *Guthi* rules are intolerably strict, then by having meetings and by votes of confidence among members, they could be changed. *Guthi* is a good social practice. The older generations thought traditions should be kept as they are with some reasonable changes if needed. So, will it be an exaggeration to call the *Sii Guthi* a symbol of cooperation and a good example of community development left behind by our ancestors?

Notes

1.This article is based on interviews with Vajracharyas of Makhan baha. In addition, the writer herself has experience with the '*Guthi*' as she was born and raised in a Vajracharya family at Makhan Baha.

2. Locke, John K. (SJ). 1980 Karunaamaya. Kathmandu: The research center for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuwan University. He defined 'Newar' as: 'Newar' is not an ethnic term, but a cultural term, denoting the very rich and complex culture of the society of the Kathmandu Valley. A Newar has been defined as an inhabitant of the valley of Nepal who speaks Newari (Page 2)

3 . Vajracharya and Shakyas are the two groups among the Newars who have to under go' bare chhuye' initiation rite. Literally, the term bare Chhuye means renunciation as Buddhist Monk known as Bhikshu. Since every male member of Vajracharya and Shakya is renunciated as Bhikshus for seven days in the childhood, these two groups are respected in the Newar Buddhist community. Moreover, the literal meaning of Vajracharya means performing priestly functions for all the Newar Buddhist communities in

Nepal. On the other hand, Shakya claim to be descendants of Shakyamuni Gautam Buddha. Later in the eighteenth century, Jayastithi Malla(Newar King) organized all the Newar society into Hindu caste System; consequently Vajracharyas and Shakyas were considered castes with designated functions of priests and goldsmiths respectively.

4 . The 'Baha' and 'Bahi' are the two different types of monastic complexes which forms the Buddhist shrines and the families attached to the Monasteries live there. The Vajracharyas and Shakya who reside in the Bahas and Bahis are responsible to take care of the shrines and the monasteries.

5 . As told by a *Guthi* member, the period of Holi is deliberately chosen as there is no other festival or feast during this period. Another reason for choosing the particular time as told by the elderly people from the community is that the people of Makhan baha are fond of fun and festivities. So, while celebrating the annual *Guthi* ritual, they can enjoy the holi festival as well.

6 . A *kwaapaa dya* (A Stone statue of Buddha) is kept in the ground floor of the deity house in any baha. A male member (Vajracharya) of the '*Sangha*' of that community cleans the *Kwaapaa Dya* and the shrine, pays homage, lit oil lamps and incense, chants prayers every morning. "In the history of Buddhism, the term *Sangha* has always been used to refer to the community of Buddhist monks" (Locke, 1980:13).

7 . In the Newar Communities, there is a special style of pouring liquor from its container known as '*anti*'(made of silver or bronze) into salli (a typical type of cup specially made for drinking liquor); The Newar women are expert in pouring the liquor at feast.

8 . A 'pitha ' is a tantric center at the bank of a river where the dead bodies of the community are cremated. The pithas and cremation sites are located near to one another.

Reference

Locke, John K.(1980) Karunaamaya, Sahayogi Prakaashan, Kathmandu, Nepal

Progress

Chittadhar 'Hridaya'

The mind of a lunatic races on
in disarray deranged and rearranged
no point or pause for rest
Is this what we call progress ?

The monsoon clouds, yes, billowing up
while the river runs down downward still
mist and snowy peaks, course of all rivers
if uncrossed, can it be progress ?

Leaving the home life, starting anew
beginning the monk's life
ends up the same too
Is this what we call progress ?

The crow, in many ways adept,
is so-called clever yet
duped by the cuckoo, eggs exchanged
shall we speak of this as progress?

Here we've arrived, but how much remains
like strolling around a huge rotund well
if travelling east, we wind up west,
is circling the globe really progress ?

A bamboo shoot rises as if to touch heaven
then battered by snowfall bends
hunchedbacked and humbled by age embraced
shall we speak of youth is progress ?

So too, Garuda, the greatest who flies
set him aside, for the ant unwavering
steady arrives, as he must at his place
can his pace be counted as progress ?

Translated by David Hargreaves

प्रगति

चित्तधर 'हृदय'

वैँय्‌ा मन गुलि ब्वां ब्वां वनिगु
नाना भावे हिला:हिला:
फलख्व मच्वं थातं छु विष्ये
थ्व हे प्रगति झीसं धाय् ला ?

वन्यत थँ न्ह्याना च्वन ख: मेघ,
क्वे क्वे न्ह्याना च्वंगु खुसि,
सुपांय् च्वापुगुं, खुसि फुक जलधि
पुला मवंसां प्रगति धाय् ला ?

गृहस्थ जीवन तोता: न्हूगु
भिक्षु जिवने वजक वनां
अन नं जीवन अय् हे जूसा
वैत प्रगति झीसं धाय् ला ?

चलाख धायूका: नाना चाल
याना: ज्वीफुम्ह कोंयात
लाना: ख्यैं हिलि कोकिल छ्तुं
थ्व नं प्रगति झीसं धाय् ला ?

थन थ्यन, थुलि दनि छुं सी मदूगु
त:गो तुं ग: चाहिल्थि थें
पूर्वे वंसा पश्चिम ज्वीगु
पृथिवी हिल्थगु प्रगतिं ख:ला ?

सर्ग: थी थें पंचो जा:गु
च्वापुं दया: क्वच्छ्वी थें
जरा पाच्निा: धुसि धुसि ल्वीगु
यौवनयात प्रगति धाय् ला ?

अथवा दकले ब्वाय् फुम्ह पंक्षी
गरुडयात नं छ्ख्यर तया:
महिक न्ह्याना मा:थाय् थ्यंसा
ईमू पला: प्रगती ला: ला ?

The Newar Language: A Profile

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1. Introduction

1.1 The Language and the Area

1.1.1 Name of the Language:

Newar is one of four Tibeto-Burman languages with an old written tradition(the other three being Tibetan, Burmese and Manipuri) and the only member of the Himalayan literature is Nevari or Newari, but indigenous publications by Newar writers consistently refer to it as '*Nepal Bhasha*.'[1] In colloquial term the language is simply known as *Newaah Bhaae* (the Newaah language) by the majority of native speakers.

1.1.2 Distribution of speakers:

Newar speakers are concentrated in the Kathmandu valley, with a few settlements in trading centers outside the valley. On the basis of the Nepal Census Reports of 1952/54 and 1961, Gopal Singh Nepali (The Newars, Bombay 1965: 19-20) and Dor Bahadur Bista (People of Nepal, Kathmandu 1967: 16) report a total of nearly 400,000 Newar speakers, of which fifty-five percent are living in Kathmandu Valley. Newar speakers living outside Nepal are to be found mainly in the Darjeeling District and Sikkim of India, Bhutan and Tibet where their speech forms have been increasingly influenced by language contact situations. No reliable data however are available to date on the migrating Newar population. The latest Nepal Census Report of 1991 places the number of ethnic Newars at 10,41,090 (5.6%) and the number of active speakers at 6,90,007 (3.7%) which indicate a decline of 3,51,083 speakers in the country. This seems to be a distinct trend among the many minority languages of Nepal.

1.2 Classical Newar

The term 'classical Newari' was first used by Jorgensen (1936) in which he stated, "The language I called classical Newari, is the language of the Mss." This definition is seriously limited as it excludes the earlier history of written Newar which appears in stone or metal inscriptions, and grants or legal documents (*tamsuk*-s) written on palm-leaves, and other miscellaneous media written on paper. The role of classical Newar in the documentation of the history of the Nepal Valley is obviously an important one, and the classical period as such extends from Nepal Samvat (N.S.) 235 (A.D. 1114), the first attested use of Newar in a connected text (Malla, 1990: 15-26), to the early part of this century. The work of Vajracharya (B.S. 2030/1973) however reveals a variety of Newar nominals found in Licchavi inscriptions (ca. 350 to 750 A.D.). On the basis of the Licchavi epigraph, Tamot (N.S. 1100/1980) attempted an enumeration of the non-Sanskrit words, and Malla (1981:17) postulates that "the source language of most of these nominals is proto-Newar." Although the evidence may not be fully conclusive, the materials brought to light seem to indicate the antiquity of the language that dates back to pre-Aryan sources, and certainly beyond the beginning of a written tradition. From early 14th century to the entrance of the Shah dynasty, many historical documents (such as inscriptions, vamsavali-s thyasaphu-s etc.), technical manuscripts (on medicine, astronomy/astrology) and innumerable narrative texts (including religious and philosophical tantra-s) were written in classical Newar. Among these the bilingual *Hitopadesa* (N/S. 481/A.D. 1361 ?)[2], the two *Amrakosa*-s (N.S. 501/506: A.D. 1381/1386) and *Gopalarajavamsavali* (N.S. 507-510/A.D. 1387-1390) are linguistically the most important.

Manuscripts continued to be written by hand in the Nepal script (Bhujimol, Pracalit or Ranjanaa scripts) until the advent of printing in the Kathmandu Valley around the beginning of this century. These texts are historically and linguistically important, and classical Newar is obviously an essential tool in the

study of the development of the Tibeto-Burman languages in general and the Himalayan languages in particular.

1.3 Contemporary Newar

The most striking development in the history of modern Newar can be seen in the morphological structure of words. There is copious evidence to show that there has been systematic simplification in the morpheme structure and syllable structure of nominals and verbal roots in contemporary Newar. The older Newar forms in general had complex syllable structure consisting of monosyllabic roots and affixes (prefixes and suffixes) which according to Benedict (1972:96) characterize Tibeto-Burman morphology of antiquity. Shafer (1966:11) is also of the opinion that "Sino-Tibetan languages that have disyllabic and even trisyllabic words represent the primitive condition, the present monosyllabism being due to degeneration." The morphological analysis of Malla (1981:12-16) can be cited to show the changes in the structural elements of words:

Ancient	Modern Newar
(maa) kho-prin	kho-pa
mhas-prin	mhya-pi
pran-prin	pham-pi
khai-nas-pu	khad-pu
bugaayumi	buNga
lembati	lele
gulamtam	guita
satvaumalambaa	satuNgal/balambu
jamayambi	jamal
kicapricin	kisipidi
tuncatcatu	capali

The motivations for these changes are far from clear, e.g. why did **-prin** in **kho-prin** and **mhas-prin** evolve into **-pa** in one case and **-pi** in the other? Malla (17) takes the view that "these changes appears to be different depending perhaps upon dialectal, regional, social-cultural, and language-contact factors." While these resulted in the loss of consonants and consonant clusters, the basic formations of stems and affixes (e.g. then **-co, san-ko, kopun-dul, te-khum, te-gval,** etc.) as found in ancient epigraph are still used in present day Newar in the same sense. The loss of syllabification noted above may also be related to the process of stem variation in Newar nouns. For historical reasons a large number of nouns in Newar have lost their stem-final syllables, which however are still retained in the oblique case forms of these nouns. These alternation can be seen in the following examples:

/la:/	'water'	/lakha-e/	[la.khE:]
/phae/	'wind'	/phasã-ã/	[pha.sã:]
/pwA:/	'stomach'	/pwAtha-e/	[pwA.thE:]
/bhoe/	'feast'	/bhoja-e/	[bhwo.dzE:]
/kõe:/	'bone'	/kõca-e/	[kwõ.tsE:]

[where the hyphen stands for the morpheme break and the dot for the syllable break]

When the lost stem-final syllables re-appear in locative/ablative formations, we can assume that the final syllables *-kha, -sa, -tha, -ja, -ca* in the above examples belong to the old stems rather than the suffixes. This interpretation simplifies the morphological analysis of words and the segmentation of morphemes into phonological syllables. Contemporary Newar in this sense could be viewed as a language with the preferred syllable structure of CV, CCV, or CVV, and where, as in the case of stem variation, the constraints on syllabically motivated processes are related to morpho-syntactic constructions in a formal way.[3]

Another important aspect that characterizes modern Newar is the large-scale intrusion of words and expressions from Indo-Aryan languages and to some extent from English. While this is not a new phenomenon, and contact with Indo-Aryan languages has a long history, the extent and rate of such borrowings have reached such proportions as to render the language of the fashionable generation almost unintelligible to more conservative speakers. The influx of Sanskritized Nepali or Hindi on the other has had, as some see it, an adverse effect on the use of the language. although borrowings are not unnatural in language-contact situations, there is today a tendency to revive, at least in writing, the native stock of words that has gone out of use under the impact of external influences.

Another communicative problem is perhaps internal to the language itself, namely the existence of widely divergent dialect groups divided by geographical distance and lack of socio-cultural interaction. There are for examples several distinct dialects of Newar within Kathmandu Valley, but the channels of communication are not ideal. The problem becomes more acute when on encounters the language in the Dolakha dialect where intelligibility tends to be lost almost in total. The dialect of Kathmandu proper, however, is generally recognized as the standard form in speech and writing. The Kathmandu dialect in this sense could be regarded as the norm or the literate standard in which a large bulk of published materials, some linguistic descriptions and few Dictionaries are available.

1.4 Review of Earlier Works on Newar

There is considerable amount of descriptive works on various aspects of the Newar language. These works will be reviewed in this section as contributions of individual writers, linguists and scholars, and cover the compilation of Dictionaries, grammars of various orientations, Historical studies, synchronic/descriptive studies, comparative studies and theoretical works on the language. A few foreign scholars have also undertaken sociolinguistic research on the Newar communities in the Kathmandu Valley and those settled in many other areas of Nepal. Newar is also a subject of study in the school and university curricula, and a selection of text-books and other teaching materials are available in the language. The use of Newar as mother-tongue education at the primary level has also encouraged the production of basic literacy materials on a limited scale. This however is a specialized task and would require trained teachers and writers who are well acquainted with educational psychology and language pedagogy. There has not been any study thus far on the use of Newar in communication media such as journalism, radio/TV and miscellaneous publications such as periodicals, bulletins and journals.

According to Hale and Hale (1969:3) "most of what has been written about Newar is ancillary to anthropological studies, supportive of classificatory studies, or relevant primarily to the history of the language." They go on to cite the works of numerous scholars like Conrady (1891, 1893), Hodgson (1828, 1847), Jorgensen (1921, 1928, 1936a, 1936b, 1941), Shafer (1952), Joshi (1956), Sagar (1962), to name only a few, who have produced dictionaries and attempted various grammatical analyses of the language. In Grierson's (1909) **Linguistic Survey of India** 3:1, Newar was also one of the languages surveyed and partially analyzed. Shafer (1955, 1966-67) attempted a classification of Sino-Tibetan languages with particular reference to Newar. Apart from the earlier compilations of word-lists of Newar by Kirkpatrick (1811:220-249), Hodgson (1874:3-8), Wright (1877:300-305) and Conrady (1891:1-35; 1893:539-573), the most valuable single contribution to the lexicography of classical Newar is Hans Jorgensen's 6000-word **Dictionary of the Classical Newari** (1936) which, although not comprehensive, covers the late Malla period as found in narrative texts. This was followed in 1941 by **A Grammar of the Classical Newari** which represent a historical treatment of the language.

Hale and Hale (1969:4) also noted that "most of the materials relevant to the descriptive, synchronic analysis of Newar of which we have knowledge are at present unpublished." In this connection they refer to scholars such as R.K. Sprigg, J. Brough and T.W. Clark, who are understood to have extensive unpublished materials at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. There are also other scholars like Boyd Michailovsky, A. Peter Burleigh, E.H. Bendix and R.R. Howren who have private unpublished collections of materials on Newar, but of which we have no detailed information.

Bharati V. Modi (1967) has given a phonemic analysis of Newar, purportedly from the point of view of Zellig Harris' structural approach to phonology. This is certainly one of the earliest works on Newar phonology, and was at the tine the only published phonemic statement of the language.

Edward H. Bendix (1974) has published material which rests upon an interesting implicit analysis of the relationship between the Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman language families in terms of Nepali and Newar tense systems. Margaret and Austin Hale (1969) have published a phonemic summary which is actually more nearly morpho-phonemic than phonemic. Austin Hale has also produced a wide range of materials on Newar phonology and syntax, notably Hale (1970a,b,c) on segmental and textual structures; Hale (1973) on the form of verbal bases in Newar; Hale (1980) on Finite Conjunct and Disjunct verb forms, which constitutes on his most important contributions to the study of Newar syntax, and Hale (1985) on Newar Noun Phrase and Cohesive function. Hale has also played an active role in various collaborative projects such as Hale and Hale (1970), a computerized compilation of Newar Concordance; Shresthacarys, Maskey and Hale (1971) on conversational materials; Hale and Manandhar (1973) on Case and Role in Newar; Friedman, Kansakar, Tuladhar and Hale (1975) on the variants of Newar vowels; Hale and Watters (1973) on clause patterns; and the preparation of a comprehensive Dictionary of Contemporary Newar compiled by Thakurlal Manandhar (1986). Iswaranand Shresthacharya has published materials on Newar lexicography and grammar particularly on areas of syntax (nouns and verbs), research work on Jyapu vocabulary, and co-authored papers, namely Shresthacharya and Hale (1972) on Roman Newar orthography; Hale and Shresthacharya (1973) on Newar as a Classifier Language; and Shresthacharya (1976) on the reduplication in Newar verb phrase. Shresthacharya has dictionaries including an illustrated Dictionary of Architectural terms (1987) with the assistance of N. Gutschow and B. Kolver, and a Dictionary of Contemporary Newar (1994) co-authored with U. Kolver.

Mantaro J. Hashimoto has undertaken preliminary research work on Newar dialects, and published a classified lexicon on the Bhaktapur dialect, Hashimoto (1977). Margaret Langdon attempted a phonemic analysis of Newar as part of a field methods course under the guidance of Mary Haas, University of California, Berkeley.

Ulrike Kolver's Ph. D. dissertation on "Newar Sentence Structure" completed under the supervision of Prof. Hans Jakob Deiler and material help from Austin Hale, was accepted by Cologne University in 1975. Bernhard Kolver and Ulrike Kolver have also published a few notable papers on Newar syntax, namely Kolver and Kolver (1975) on Newar noun inflection; Ulrike Kolver (1977) on nominalization and lexicalization in Modern Newar; Ulrike Kolver (1978) on Newar noun phrases; and Kolver and Kolver antiquity of the language, namely Malla (B.S. 2028/1971, 1973, 1980a, 1980b, 1981), a book on Classical Newar Literature (1982), and a Reference Grammar of Contemporary Newar (1985). Sundar K. Joshi produced a comprehensive description of Bhaktapur Newar as a part of his doctoral research (1984), Joshi (1986, 1988) on Newar syntax, and Bhaskararao and Joshi (1985) on the study of Newar classifiers.

Kashinath Tamot has contributed several papers on the lexicography and etymological studies of the language, namely Tamot (1975, 1977a, 1977b, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1990) and a historical treatment of some Newar verbs (1985) with David Hargreaves. Hemraj Shakya has produced standard reference works on the old Newar scripts, namely Shakya (1952, 1973). Daya Shakya has conducted special research on Newar dialects, i.e. Shakya (1987, 1990, 1992). Chandra Devi Shakya has worked on the Semantics of Newar (1980) for her doctoral dissertation, and Rudra Luxmi Shrestha has made detailed studies of the Dolakha dialect of Newar, namely Shrestha (1985, 1987, 1989, 1995). Kamala Sthapit (1976) in an M.A. thesis on a descriptive analysis of colloquial Newar, while Shishir Sthapit (1978) represents doctoral research on the comparative description of English, Nepali and Newar and its pedagogic applications. Hargreaves has done extensive research on Newar syntax and discourse structures, namely Hargreaves (1984, 1986a,b, 1990, 1991). Carol Genetti has produced significant research materials on Newar syntax and a detailed study of the Dolakha Newar Dialect, namely Genetti (1986a,b,c, 1988a,b, 1990, 1994). Talmy Givon (1985) provides insightful study of Newar ergative morphology and syntax. Kansakar (1977, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983a,b, 1987) represent some earlier works on Newar phonology. Kansakar 1984, 1989) are course materials on Newar, while Kansakar (1985, 1994a, 1995a,b) consists of Book Reviews and papers on Newar lexicography, and Kansakar (1986, 1990, 1994b, 1995c) are some recent works on Newar grammar.

1.5 Genetic Classification

The classification of Tibeto-Burman language and the placement of Newar among them, has been a matter of some controversy. Scholars and linguists who have treated the problem include Hodgson (1828), Sten Konow (1909), Shafer (1952, 1955, 1966), Voegelin and Voegelin (1964/65), Glover (1970) and Benedict (1972).

The earliest statement on the genetic affiliation of Newar was made by Hodgson (1828) who made a systematic comparison of the core vocabulary of Newar and Tibetan, and concluded that "the root and stock of Newar are trans-Himalayan and northern...". This conclusion was presumably based on the shared phonological and morphological correspondence, as distinct from Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan lingua-francas. Hodgson however did not elaborate on the possible sub-grouping of languages within the Sino-Tibetan family. Grierson (1909: Vol. 3 Part I) which represents the work of August Conrady and Sten Konow, assigns Newar to the non-pronominalized group of the Himalayan languages, along with Gurung, Tamang, Sunwar and Magar. In this classification (see Figure 1) the language most closely related to Newar is Pahari, though by some standards it might be considered a dialect of Newar. By the time of this classification, the family relation of Newar with Sino-Tibetan had been established beyond dispute.

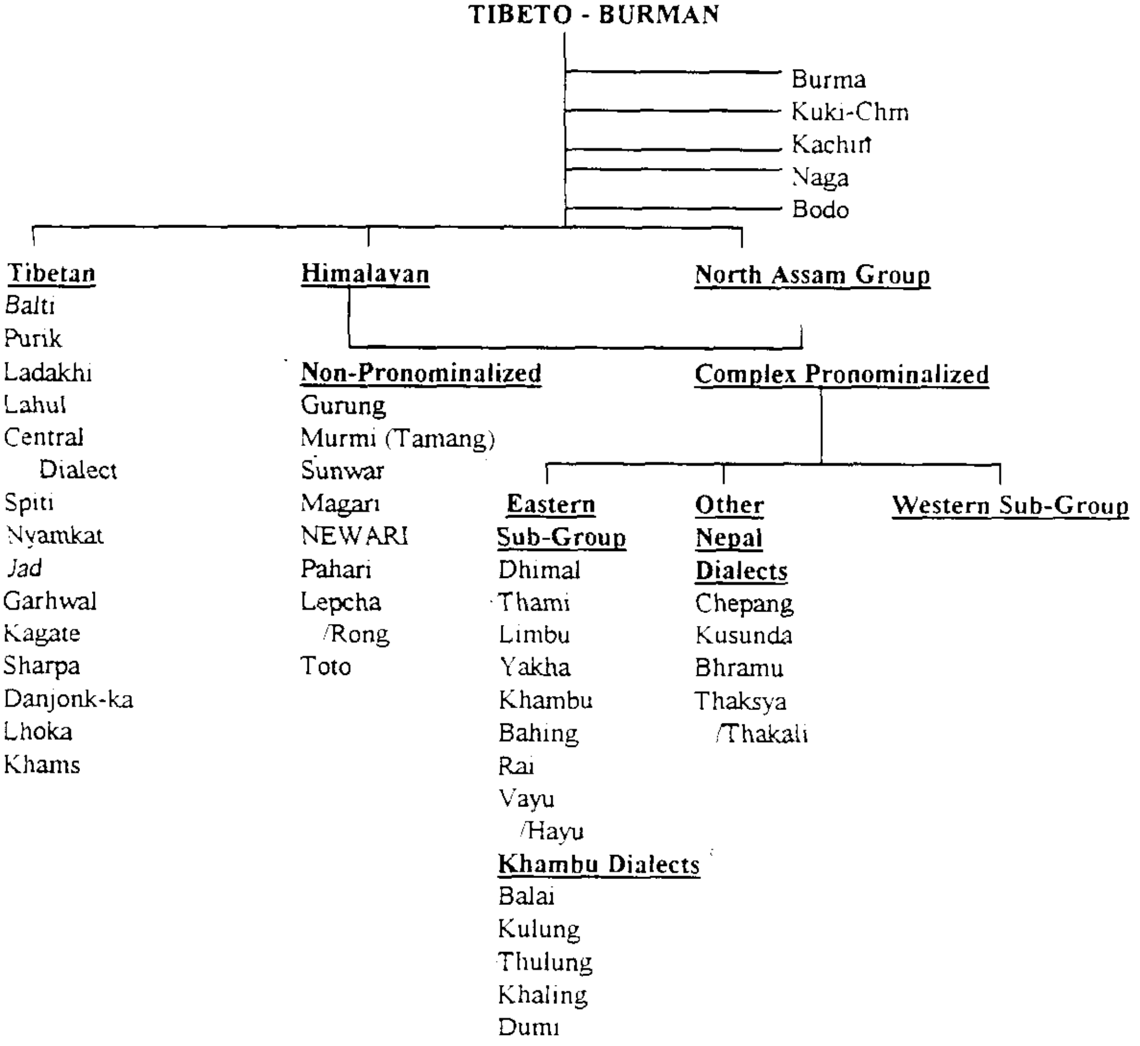


Figure 1: Genetic classification of Tibeto-Burman languages, according to Grierson (1909)

Shafer (1955) places both Newar and Pahari within the Newarish section of the Bodic Division of Sino-Tibetan. Later in (1966) Shafer leaves the divisional classification of the Newarish section uncertain (probably sections of Bodic, possibly of Burman) prefixes and of many final consonants connects Newar with the languages to the north (Tibet) and to the east (Burma and the Indo-Burmese frontier) rather than with the Tibeto-Burmic languages of Assam" (Shafer 1952:93).4 Shafer's (1966) classification, as shown in Figure 2, shows Newar to be relatively distant from the other languages in the Bodish and Himalayan sections of the Bodic Division.

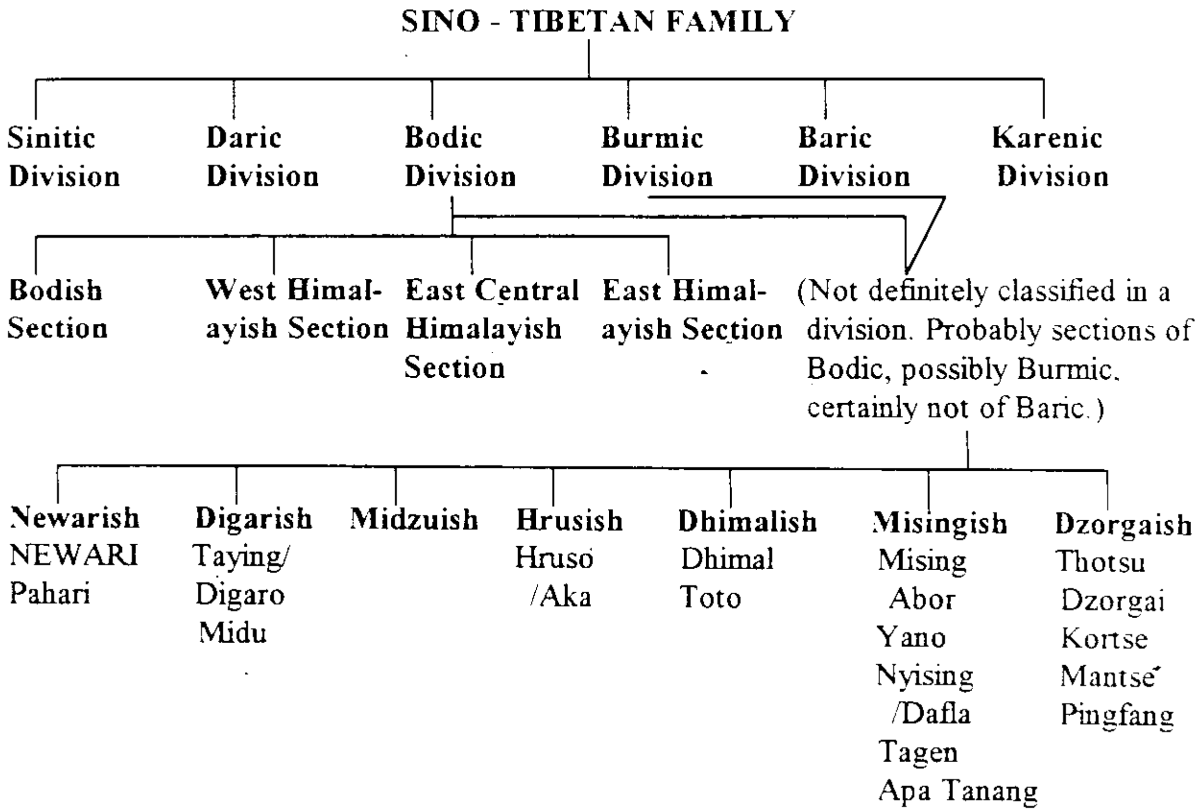
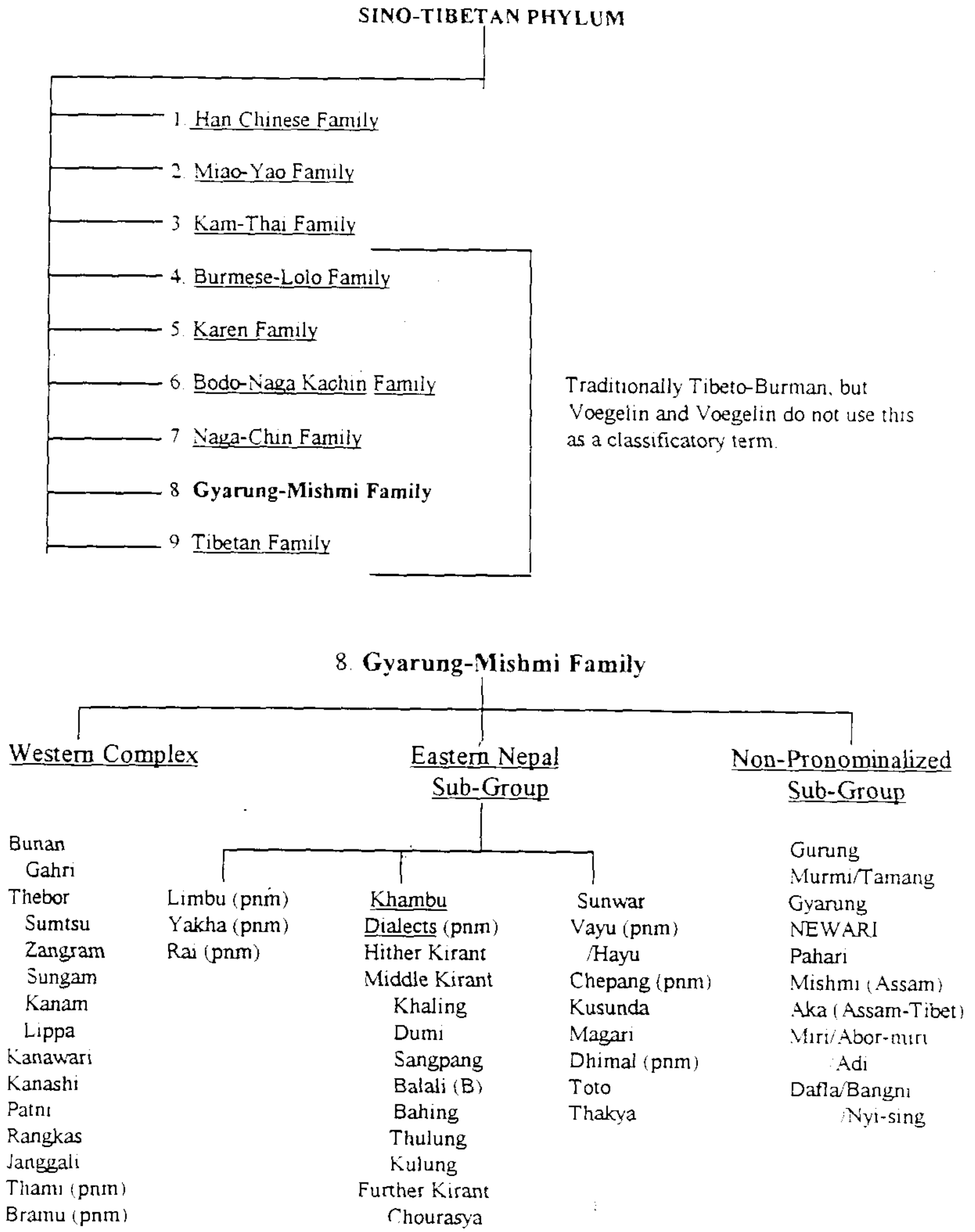


Figure 2: Division of Sino-Tibetan Family, based on Shafer (1966)

C.F. and F.M. Voegelin (1964/65) on the other land , classify Newar and Pahari together with Gurung and Tamang as members of the non-pronominalized sub-group of the Gyarung-Mishimi family of the Sino-Tibetan phylum. The classificatory terms used by them suggest a geographical division of languages in which the linguistic distance between two speech forms is proportionate to the geographical distance. They maintain that

> The family tree model is more appropriate for the different language families in the Sino-Tibetan phylum than for the phylum itself... We avoid the controversy by giving exclusive attention to the languages spoken today in each of the constituent language families.
>
> (Voegelin and Voegelin 6:3, 8-9)

The model proposed by Voegelin and Voegelin is shown in Fig. 3.



pnm = pronominalized language
B = Bontawa language
/ = alternate name for the same language

Figure 3: Division of Sino-Tibetan Families, showing mainly the Gyarung-Mishmi languages, based on Voegelin and Voegelin(1964/65)

The computations of cognate groupings for thirty Tibeto-Burman languages by Glover (1970) seem to confirm Shafer's placement of Newar among the Himalayish languages. Glover arrived at a genetic classification on the basis of the percentage of semantic and phonetic cognates shared by two or more diverging languages. Figure 4 based on Glover (1970) shows the percentage of probable cognates. and the dates represent the time depths of separation calculated from the respective percentage figures. In this classification, Newar is closer to Chepang (with 28 percent shared cognates) than to any other language.

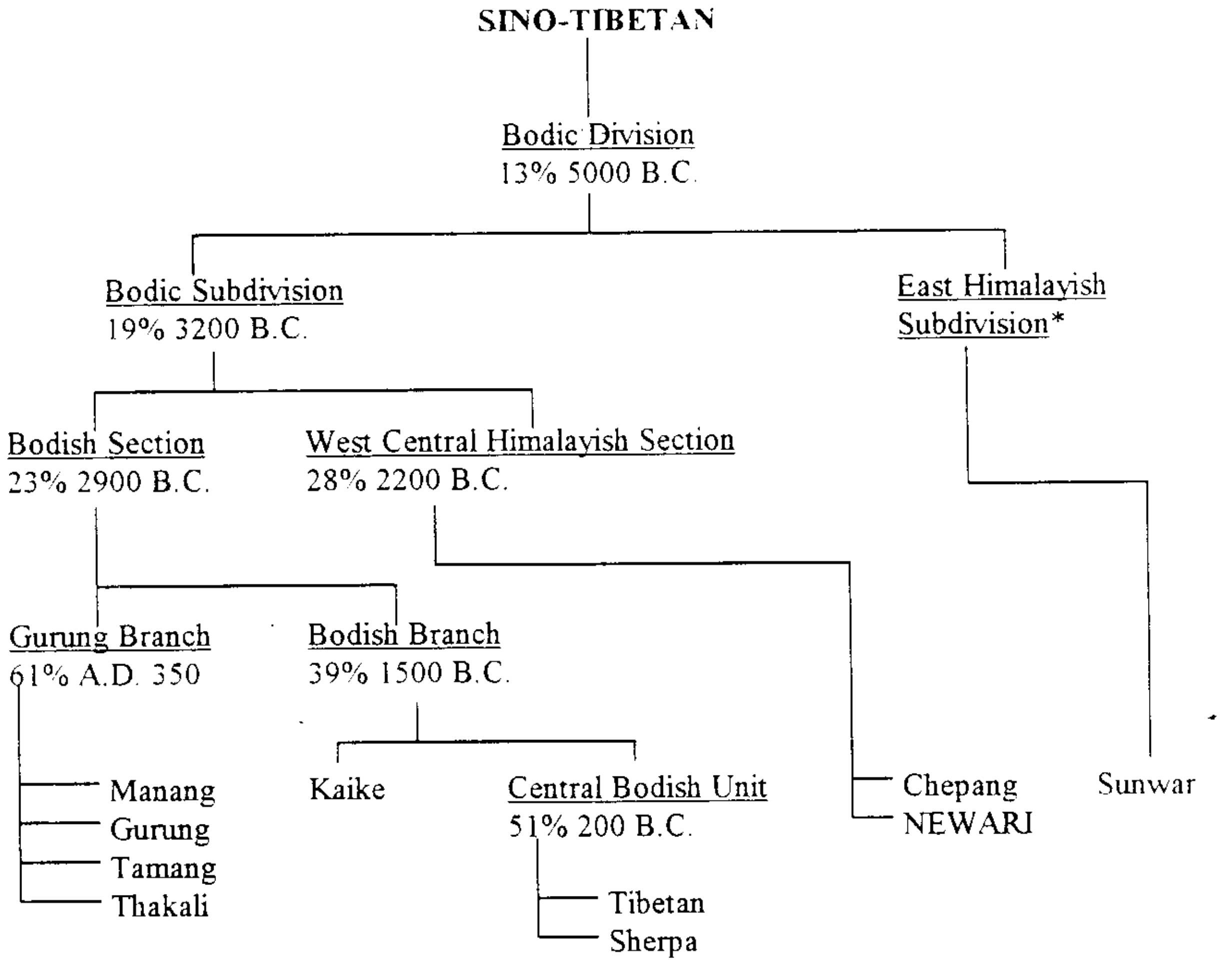


Figure 4: Relation of Newari to Sino-Tibetan, based on Glover(1970) who has preserved Shafer's terminology.
* East Himalayish in includes two or more branches.

The grouping of languages by Shafer and Glover can be compared with the results of Benedict's (1972) work which, while covering the same ground as Shafer, incorporates fresh supporting criteria for the divergence of languages. Benedict, working primarily of the basis of phonological correspondences, introduces the seven principal Divisions or Nuclei of Tibeto-Burman and indicates the direction of divergence from a common nucleus. In this organization, Newar is shown as belonging possibly to the Kiranti Nucleus from which it has diverged to a considerable extent. In this scheme of classification, summarized here in Fig. 5, the relationship between the Bodish Group of the Tibetan nucleus and the Kiranti languages is quite explicit, while Newar seems to have developed independently from the Kiranti source.

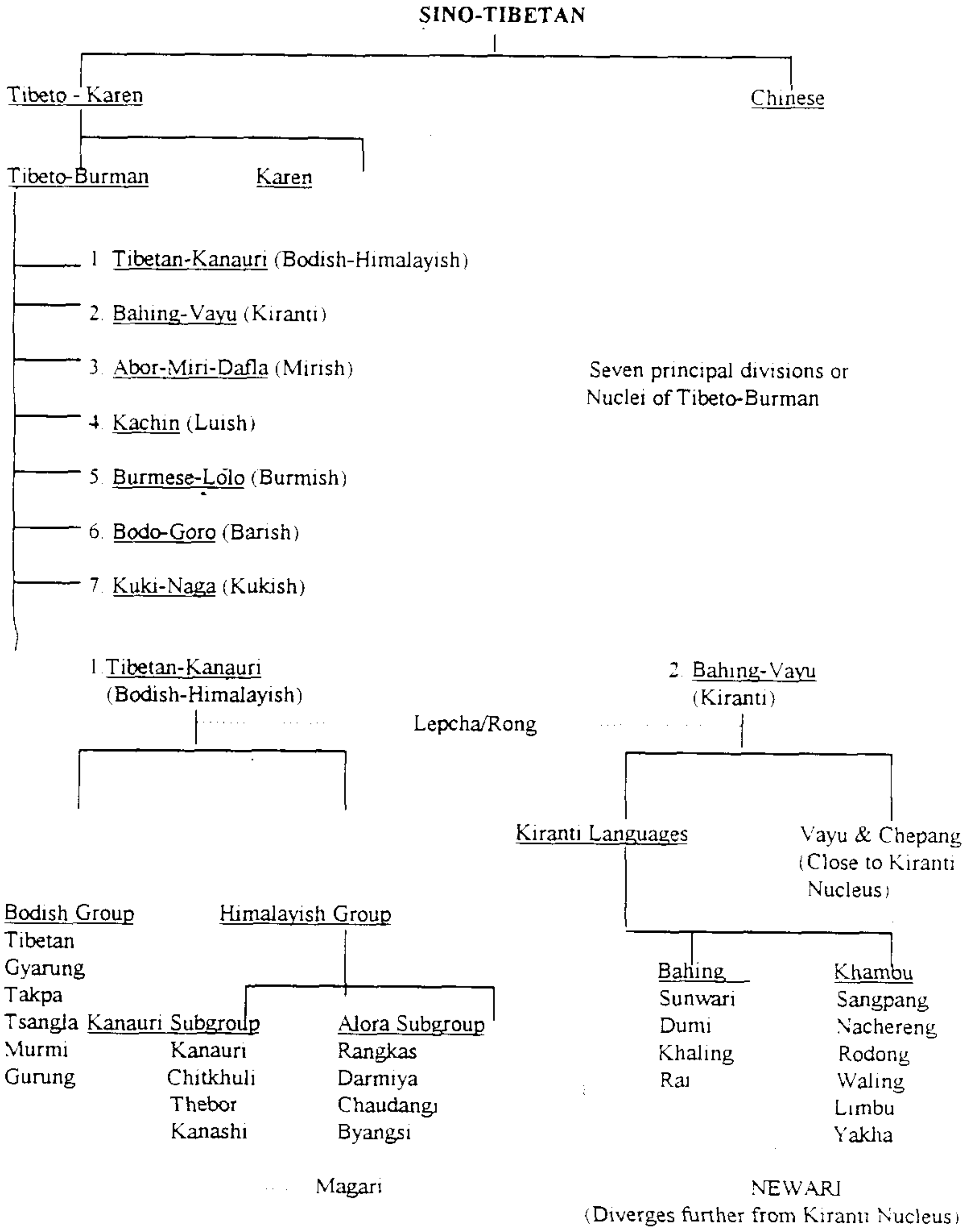


Figure 5: Division of Tibeto-Burman languages Showing mainly the Bodish-Himalayish and Kiranti Group, based on Benedict (1972)

The classificatory works surveyed above seem to indicate considerable difficulty and uncertainty about the placement of Newar. The initial problem may be due to the inability of scholars to connect Newar with the migration pattern of Tibeto-Burman speakers, as proposed in the Linguistic Survey of India. Further, Newar separated from the "Tibetan" group and the basically pronominalized Himalayan languages at an early period of its history. In this respect it is difficult or at least arbitrary to reconstruct the basic stratum that had contributed to present day Newar speech. The truth perhaps lies in the fact that Newar is a language evolving from mixed ethnic/linguistic influences that do not lend easily to a neat classification.

1.6 Literary Traditions of the Newars

The Newars of Kathmandu Valley have had a very long history of literary traditions, both in their oral and written forms. The oral tradition has only been recorded fairly recently by writers, anthropologists and folklorists, but it is often difficult to determine the social setting or the origin of these myths, legends and folk tales. The fact that these stories from an indefinite past have survived to the present time testifies to the literate culture and tradition of the Newars. The origin and growth of written literature is a natural outcome of this oral tradition that is deep- rooted in the Newar social organization. and culture.

According to Malla (1982), Classical Newar literature originated mainly as a bilingual literature. This can be seen in the earliest specimens of Newar manuscripts such as *Hitopadesa*, a Sanskrit-Newar text dated AD 1360; *Manavanyayasastra*, a Sanskrit text with Newar commentary dated AD 1380; a 2-part *Amrakosa*, Sanskrit-Newar lexicon compiled in AD 1382 and 1386; and *Gopalarajavamsavali*, a historical chronicle written partly in debased Sanskrit but mainly in the old form of the Bhaktapur Newar dialect. Malla (1990: 15-26) also reports the discovery of an early 12th century palm-leaf document dated N.S. 235 (AD 1114) which thus far represents the earliest extant use of Newar in a connected text. This Provides furthers evidence of the antiquity of Newar writing tradition and its development as a full form of written expression in a large number of copper plates or stone inscriptions and hand-written manuscripts. Newar however has been exposed to influences from Sanskrit and Prakrit since the first half of the first millennium AD, and it was only during the 16th century that the language emerged as a fully independent, creative medium in literature. Today there is a large body of original Newar text on technical subjects such as traditional Ayurveda medicine, astrology, art, architecture, mathematics, alchemy, philosophy, tantra etc. as well as a number of significant works on religious discourse (dharma saastra), moral ethics (ni:ti saastra) and music (vocal and instrumental). Malla (1982) also claims that Classical Newar is one of the few languages in the whole Indian subcontinent to possess a variety of historical writings in prose. The extant documents such as the *Vamsavali*-s (chronicles), and *Thyasaphu*-s (folding diaries on social/political events) are still regarded to be of immense value to historians. Another genre of literature that has enjoyed wide popularity is narrative prose on religious, didactic and popular themes. Among the religious texts, *Swasthani vrata* stories of Hindu origin (dated N.S. 713; AD 1593) and the rebirth stories of the Buddha, the *Avadana* and *Jataka*, are still highly popular among the Hindu and Buddhist Newars. The earliest Classical Newar text in didactic prose narrative is the bilingual *Hitopadesa* (N.S. 481; AD 1360), and the other early texts in this genre include the *Tantrakhyana* (N.S. 696; AD 1576); *Panca tantra* (undated) and *Canakya Sara Samgrahah* (N.S. 874; AD 1754). These narrative prose texts being free from religious or didactic concerns may have made significant contributions to the growth of modern printed literature, notably in the development of short stories, dramas and novels as literary forms.

The first specimens of Classical Newar literature were printed by several European scholars during the 19th century. Daniel Wright in his edition of *History of Nepal* (1877) included some old Newar songs; the Russian Buddhist scholar Ivan P. Minaeff also published four Newar songs in his book on Nepal; *Vetaalapamcavimsati*, a story of Buddhist recession, was the first full lenth text to be published in Europe in 1803. Hans Jorgenson published two other stories of Buddhist origin, *Vicitrakarnikavadanoddhrta* in 1931 and *Battisputrikakatha* in 1939 with Newar originals and English translations. The two other European scholars who continued this work include Siegfried Lienhard and Eugen Jung who compiled and published collections of old Newar songs, Buddhist Texts and anthology of religious and secular poems of the Newars. More recently, several Newar scholars and writers have edited and published various genres of literary text produced by the Malla kings. A very large body of Classical Newar manuscripts however remains to be studied, edited and published. The majority of these materials

have not even been properly cataloged. But judging from the interest shown by the contemporary Newar writers and intellectuals in preserving and promoting their literary and cultural traditions, we have grounds for hope that the work will continue.

1.7 Use of Newar in Education and the Media

Newar is one of the oldest Tibeto-Burman languages in Nepal with an elaborate writing system and a rich literary tradition. Newar has been used as a medium of basic education and religious instructions since ancient times. This practice however declined particularly during the Rana regime when the language was suppressed, the writers and poets in the language were persecuted and their works were either banned or confiscated. The despotic rulers of the time thus succeeded in ending effectively the use of the language in education and literary expressions. The use of the language in mass media however could not develop during this period, although an eminent Newar scholar Dharmaditya Dharmacharya (1903-1963) is reputed to be the first journalist to publish pamphlets and periodicals in the language from India. There was some relaxation during the 30 years of the Panchayat period, but the government of the time continued to follow a dominant language policy, and many minority languages degenerated in the absence of measures to promote their use. Only two Nepalese languages, Maithili and Newar, have been introduced as optional/elective subjects in the school and higher education curricula. Newar was not taught at any level of education during the Rana period (1846-1950 AD). Although the ban on the publication of Newar literature had been lifted since 1946, its use in communication media such as journalism and radio broadcasting was confined to limited readers and audiences in the Kathmandu Valley proper.

Following the restoration of democracy in 1990 the new Constitution recognizes all indigenous languages of Nepal as 'national languages' and guarantees each community the right to preserve and promote its language, script and culture. The Constitution also assess the right of each community to operate schools up to the primary level in its own mother tongue for imparting education to its children. In this changed context, the Newars provided the lead in establishing a primary school for educating children in their own mother tongue. The school was named after Jagat Sunder Malla, a teacher and writer, who first took the initiative to produce stories and other materials for teaching in the mother tongue when it was a punishable crime to do so. Today, the Central Department of Newar offers M.A. courses in language and literature and sponsors doctoral research programmes in Newar. The efforts of the recent democratic governments to promote the uses of Newar and certain other regional languages in literacy programmes and communication media (such as radio/TV broadcasting or publications) have been encouraging. There are now over 25 journals and magazines, a couple of dailies and weeklies published regularly in the language. There are also a large number of literary-cultural organizations in the Valley and elsewhere devoted to the promotion of language, script, literature, culture and publications in Newar. There are therefore indications that the use of the language in education, literary, creative and journalistic fields will continue to increase.

1.8 Sociology of the Newar Language

The majority of Newar speakers live in the Kathmandu Valley where they constituted some 55 per cent of the total population in 1954. The migration of Newars to other urban areas and trade centers all over the country has increased in recent years. It was estimated in 1981 that about 20 percent of Nepal's urban population spoke Newar, and in terms of use it occupied the second place after Nepali. As the speakers are spread over a wide geographical area, there are several distinct dialects with corresponding variations in social and cultural practices. These dialects have not been fully surveyed and may be important in understanding the earlier morpho-syntactic forms of the language. The Dolakha, Bandipur, Pahari and Citlang dialects are considered to be the oldest and most significant for diacronic studies of the language. Kathmandu Newar, however, has been recognized as the standard form in which a variety of linguistic descriptions including its phonology, grammar lexicography and teaching materials are available.

Many speakers of minority languages in Nepal are becoming bilingual. This is a natural outcome of language contact situations and is obviously due to economic or professional reasons whereby non-Nepali speakers may have better opportunities in education, jobs and other social benefits. This tendency to become bilingual or even stop using the ethnic language except in limited circles is becoming wide spread

among many minority communities including the Newars. Newars in general have become bilinguals or multilingual more pervasively due to their urban orientation and their professional needs in business, administration and technical fields. The current trend also reveals a gradual breakdown in language loyalty and cultural consciousness, particularly among the Hindu Newar. The Census Report 1991 records a decline of some 33.7 per cent in the number of active speakers, i.e. a total of 1,041,090 ethnic Newars as against 690,007 remaining speakers in the whole kingdom. The percentage of Newar speakers in the Valley has also declined due to growing migration of other ethnic groups from all over the country in the last 40 years. Although these trends are looked upon with alarm by more conservative speakers, it is very likely that the linguistic and cultural identity of the Newars will be maintained. Malla (1989: 456) expresses this optimism when he states that "their language loyalty has remained on of the strongest in Nepal."

1.9 Review of some Descriptive problems

Newar is generally recognized as belonging to the Bodic Division of Sino-Tibetan but there is still a good deal of uncertainty about its exact location within the Himalayan group of Tibeto-Burman languages. The present controversy centers on whether Newar is related more closely to the Tibetan nucleus or the East-Himalayish Kiranti languages. The present study will seek to examine data from both Classical and Modern Newar in order to determine the evolution of its syllable structure, morphology and syntax. Such comparative analyses can help us to arrive at a less ambiguous placement of Newar within the genetic classification of Tibeto-Burman languages.

In contemporary Newar phonology there are also a number of problems relating to the phonemic status of certain segments like non-laterals / **r, rh** /, velar nasal / **N** /, palatal nasal / **n** /, / **o** / vs. / *w* / and / **i** / vs. / **y** /. There are also some minor problems relating to vowel phonemes and diphthongs with implications for the syllabification and spelling conventions in the Devanagari script. The variations available in the Devanagari system, however, are not strictly relevant to the facts of Newar phonology.

The morphological analysis of Newar verbs since the pioneer studies by Jorgensen (1936a, 1936b, 1941) has been problematic in terms of the structure of verb roots and their inflectional/ derivational morphology. Jorgensen's representation of the verb roots and his interpretation of stem-final consonants, for instance, are largely ambiguous in morpheme structure and segmentation. The system of verb classes based on the criteria of regular and irregular stem-final consonants has also been inherited from Jorgensen's analysis. The linguists and lexicographers working on Newar have expressed divergent views on these problems.

Scholars have observed the limited tense marking system of past, non-past inflections and the importance of word order and clause chaining as major syntactic devices in Newar grammar. However, very little work has been done on the lexical and syntactic study of Classical and Modern Newar from the point of view of grammaticalization as a historical process. This study will attempt to analyze some of the grammaticalized verbs as attested in Classical Newar and Modern Newar.

1.10 Materials and Techniques used for the study

This study aims to bring together considerable amount of relevant data for analysis of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of contemporary Newar with some reference to their historical antecedents in Classical Newar texts. Such analyses can contribute to comparative studies of its numerous satellite dialects which in turn can provide evidence of the earliest morpho-syntactic forms in the language. Among the several problems of Newar grammar reviewed in 1.9 above, the existing two verb agreement systems in Kathmandu Newar and the Dolakha Newar dialect have not been satisfactorily explained by linguists who have worked on the language. Is the subject and number agreement system in the Dolakha dialect a result of area pressure from the neighboring Kiranti languages or on of genetic inheritance from the parent language? The present study will thus be based on the synchronic description of Kathmandu Newar, generally recognized as the standard form of the language, with some reference to historical data from Classical Newar texts and the regional dialects which have not been fully explored. The primary tasks therefore will be to study and review the available publications on Newar and to compile a database for a detailed analysis of the language. This study will focus primarily on the spoken corpus of present-day Newar and also provide sample texts which form a part of the oral tradition. The basic approach of this

study will thus be to provide an in depth analysis of the structural features of Newar which in turn can contribute to typological studies of similar systems in the other cognate Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Nepal and the neighboring areas of Tibet, Bhutan and India.

Notes

1. The evidence from manuscripts and historical documents shows that the language was originally known as 'Nepal Bhasha' from Nepal Samvat 500 (A.D. 1380), and came to be referred as 'Newar' by foreign scholars only from N.S. 880 (A.D. 1760) onwards. For an etymology of the word 'Nepala', see Malla (1980a, 1981).

2. Some doubt has recently been cast on the date of this document, long believed to be the oldest Newar manuscript. Scholars, however, have not arrived at conclusive verification

3. For details on Newar syllable structure, see Kansakar (1980:9-16), and Kansakar (1982) for an account of Newar verb morphology.

4. This view seems to contradict the popular hypothesis proposed in the Linguistic Survey of India of two branches of migration along the Himalayas from east to west. Chatterjee (1951) and Regmi (1960) assign the origin of the first branch to north Assam and NEFA (the Newars included), and the second branch to Tibet in the north.

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Nepal Bhasha-Nepali Diglossia:

A case Study of Udas Newar's Language Use[1]

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In the last forty years, sociolinguists have been increasingly investigating the functional specialization of different languages in bilingual and multilingual communities (e.g., Blom and Gumperz 1972; Ferguson 1959; Parashar 1980; Parkin 1971; Platt 1977; Scotton 1980). These language studies have discovered that in such speech communities different languages are appropriate for different spheres of activities, and that the linguistic behavior is patterned rather than random. Such communities are commonly categorized as 'diglossic' following Ferguson's pioneering article "*Diglossia*" (1959). Diglossia, according to Ferguson, refers to communities "where two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community with each having a definite role to play" (1959:325). Subsequently, multilingual communities where three or more than three languages are in functional complementarity are described as *Triglossia* (Abdulaziz 1972) and *Polyglossia* (Platt 1977) respectively. However, the categorization of every linguistic situations which exhibit some kind of functional allocation between different languages as diglossic has been critically questioned (Winford 1985). In similar line of thought, I attempt to show that the notion of diglossia needs to be redefined and broadened before it can be used as a descriptive label for various speech communities.

My primary interest in this paper is to show that speech communities which show strict functional specialization may not, however, conform to Ferguson's idea of rigid social evaluation of languages as 'High' and 'Low,' a defining characteristic of what is called a diglossic speech community. In other words, I attempt to show that there is a need to redefine and broaden the notion of diglossia. This I will investigate with reference to the linguistic behavior of a merchant caste of Buddhist Newars, called Udas, living predominantly in Kathmandu, the capital city of Nepal. In order to do so, I will first investigate the situational and societal variations in Udas' use of Newar, their ethnic language, and Nepali, the national language, to determine whether their language choice in everyday interactions is diglossic in nature. Second, the attitudes of Udas towards these languages will be examined. But, however, I will first describe the historical and sociolinguistic background of the Newar community that led to the present status of Newar and Nepali.

Historical and sociolinguistic background:

The Newars form a dominant community in Kathmandu, the capital, and also in two nearby cities--Patan and Bhaktapur. Kathmandu is the seat of the government, the main center of communications, trade, and education. Kathmandu, Patan, and Bhaktapur lie in the Kathmandu Valley, the original home of Newars. Although Newars account for only three per cent of the total population of the country, they constitute half of the total population of Kathmandu city, while the other half consists of the second major ethnic community, Parbatiyas (Chhetris and Brahmins), the smaller ethnic communities from the plains and the Indian border, and some foreigners (Population Monograph of Nepal 1987).

The two religions--Hinduism and Buddhism--have coexisted in Nepal since ancient times. Hinduism, however, has been declared as the constitutional religion of the country, and there have been efforts on the part of the government to make Nepal the only Hindu state in the world. The overwhelming majority of the population (89.5 per cent) has been and continues to be Hindu. Above all, the ruling class is and has always been Hindu. On the other hand, only a small percentage (5.3) of the population is Buddhists, and the rest are Moslems, Christians, and others. The majority of Newars are also Hindu, but the Udas Newars (the subjects of my study) are Buddhist.

The Newar community is highly stratified, and characterized by a strict caste system. Although much controversy and doubt center around its definition (Rosser 1966), the caste system was introduced in the fourteenth century to classify the various occupational groups, and it is still the primary basis of social

differentiation among the Newars (Nepali 1965:146). The caste system cuts across religion and brings both Hindu Newars and Buddhist Newars under the same social hierarchy. This does not necessarily mean that individuals within the caste must carry the traditional tasks associated with their castes; however, they carry surnames that can easily identify their caste status. The castes within the Newar social system are differentiated from each other in terms of customs and restrictions relating to food, marriage, and other religious rituals and practices. The caste Udas, represents high caste Buddhist Newars, who are essentially traders and merchants.

The Kathmandu valley was ruled by Newar kings before the advent of the present ruling dynasty of the country. In 1768, Prithvi Narayan Shah and his troops from Gorkha, the western hilly area of Nepal, overthrew the Newar kings and established a Gorkha dynasty in Kathmandu. Since then political power has been held by the descendants of these conquerors, all of whom are Hindus. In 1846, after a massive palace massacre, the Rana family, a sub-caste of Chhetris (Parbatiyas), rose to defacto political power, and the kings became mere figure heads. From 1846, a dictatorship emerged in which Ranas accumulated all the political and economic power. They strengthened their power and status by being 'intolerant of Buddhism and by fanatic propagation of Hinduism' (Rosser 1966).

After democracy was instituted in 1950, both Hindu and Buddhist Newars were given access to political positions and various other government jobs. A great number of schools and colleges were established, and Newars became the ethnic group known for their intellectuality and their skills in industry, commerce, and metal working (Nepali 1965).

The conquest of the Valley was a serious linguistic blow to all Newars. When speakers of different languages are brought under a common political institution by means of conquest, the conqueror's language generally becomes more powerful and prestigious, and consequently, enjoys a stronger position in schools, government, economy, and society (Weinreich 1953). After the conquest by Gorkhas, Newar was replaced by Nepali, the language of the conquerors. Through military campaigns, at first, Nepali was spread as a lingua franca among the various ethnic groups. Then its wide use in schools and government displaced the use of other languages, especially Newar in Kathmandu (Malla 1973). At present, Nepali is the national language of the country, and Newar, without economic, social, or political status, is one important minority language.

A few words are also in order about the socioeconomic characteristics of Udas and their linguistic repertoires. As mentioned earlier, all Udas are Buddhists, and they are concentrated mainly in Kathmandu city, in the inner market areas of the city close to other Buddhist Newars. Most of their offices and shops, are maintained at home, usually on the ground floor, so they spend their time primarily with other Udas. They marry within their own group and usually with people from their same general area. In other words, they live, marry, and earn their living together, engaging chiefly in their original customs; hence, they are characterized by what Blom and Gumperz (1972) call 'closed networks.'

Most people in Kathmandu city are bilingual to some extent. Almost all of them have some knowledge of Nepali (Malla 1973), the national language. It is almost impossible for anybody to live in Kathmandu without being able to speak some Nepali, since it is the medium of communication in offices, courts, schools, and various other public places. Therefore, Udas do exhibit a certain degree of facility in Nepali, just because they live in the capital city, the center of politics, education, and economic activities. For example, although Udas live in compact residential areas, they have to face interaction with other groups in their work, shopping, and daily activities. Accordingly, the subjects represent a sample of fairly bilingual speakers: 98 per cent (n = 47) of them reported speaking Newar fluently and 77 per cent (n = 37) of the same group claimed fluent Nepali.

Methodology:

The survey was conducted in Kathmandu; a total of 48 Udas Newars was drawn by means of a quota sampling procedure. The sample represented both sexes equally and ranged from 15 to 75 years of age. The sample included subjects of all educational levels from no education to different levels of school, college, and the graduate school.

The primary field information on language use was collected through pretested questionnaires; the questionnaire drew upon my personal intuitions and knowledge regarding language use in the Newar community of Kathmandu, my home city. The primary purpose of the questionnaire was to elicit

information about the subjects' language use with various interlocutors in different situations, such as house, school, work, religious occasions. The secondary purpose was to determine the subjects' attitudes and opinions about the differential use of Newar and Nepali. The questionnaire also elicited a socio-economic profile of each subject (age, sex, education).

The questionnaire contained of fifty questions and took about an hour to administer. The language used in the questionnaire was either Newar or Nepali but not both. The interviewer used the language the subjects preferred. The information on linguistic behavior elicited from the questionnaire survey was supplemented by the active participant observation method since the questionnaire survey provides only what people say they do and not what they actually do in their daily language use (Labov 1966; Scotton 1972).

To simplify the analysis and discussion, I have used the theoretical construct of domain proposed by Fishman (1972), since he suggests that domain analysis can be helpful in studying linguistic behavior in multilingual societies. Domains refer to larger spheres of activities in which the members of a society conceptualize their social life as a whole. For this study I have isolated the following domains: family, friendship, religion, education, and work. Although neighborhood, government, and other domains are relevant for my subjects, data on these are not available.

Discussion of the results:

In bilingual and multilingual settings, different languages are found to be appropriate for different activities; one language is likely to be more appropriate than another in a particular domain. In their study of Puerto Ricans in New York city, Fishman and Greenfield (1970) identified five domains: family, friendship, education, work, and religion, and showed that there is a greater tendency for Puerto Ricans to use Spanish in family and friendship domains, and English in education, work, and religion.

Table 1 shows the frequency distribution of language choice in different domains among the Udas in my study.

TABLE 1

Frequency distribution of language choice in different domains

Family Domain:	Language Used	
	Newar	Nepali
1. to parents:		
a. mother	48	0
b. father	47	1
2. to grandparents		
a. grandmother	48	0
b. grandfather	48	0
3. to siblings		
a. older	48	0
b. younger	48	0
4. to spouse	36	1
5. to children	35	1
6. language spoken as a child	47	1
7. frequently used language at home	48	0

Friendship Domain:	Newar	Nepali
1. to Newar friends	41	7
2. to non-Newar friends	7	37
3. to a stranger	21	27

Religion Domain:

	Newar	Nepali
1. for prayer	44	4
2. priest	47	1

Work Domain:

	Newar	Nepali	Both
1. to boss	5	6	3
2. to fellow workers	17	2	6
3. to customers and clients	3	4	18
4. for bargaining with customers & clients	3	4	18
5. for bargaining with Newar customers & clients	21	4	0

Education Domain:

	Newar	Nepali	Other
1. language of instruction at school	0	37	4
2. to teacher	4	33	4

Table I shows that the single dominant language in the Udas' homes is Newar, used for ordinary conversations and in interactions with all family members: parents, grandparents, siblings, spouses, and children. While 98 per cent (n = 47) reported speaking Newar as children at home, all of them reported using it frequently at home for conversations. Also, they say they use Newar all the time at home, regardless of to whom they are talking and regardless of the age of their interlocutors. They use Newar not only with parents and grandparents but also with younger siblings and children.

In the domain of friendship,we encounter a different situation where friends may or may not belong to the same ethnic group. With non-Newar friends, the choice is obviously Nepali: 84 per cent of the subjects (n = 37, total subjects = 44) reported using Nepali and 16 per cent Nepali (n = 7) when interacting with non-Newar friends. Only in cases where the addressor cannot speak Nepali would the choice be Newar. This is not surprising since Nepali is the widespread lingua franca for Nepalese in their inter-ethnic communication. One would expect the subjects to use their native language when interacting with Newar friends. The data shows that 85 per cent (n = 41) of the subjects reported using Newar and the remaining 15 per cent (n = 7) reported using Nepali with their Newar friends. When interacting with a stranger, more Udas reported using Nepali: 56 per cent of them would use Nepali and the rest Newar.

In the domain of religion, Newar was found to be dominant. While 92 per cent of the subjects reported using Newar for prayers, 98 per cent of them reported using it in conversing with their priests. Earlier studies on diglossic linguistic behavior (e.g., Ferguson 1959; Parashar 1980; Zughoul 1981) have observed the use of a more prestigious language for religious purposes. This is, however, not the case among the Udas Newars because Buddhism is only a community religion while Hinduism is a constitutional one. Buddhism is, therefore, identified with Newar, which is less prestigious than Nepali.

In the domain of work, no language seems to be clearly dominant all the time. However, in the choice of language with co-workers, Newar stands out: of 25 subjects who responded to the question, 68 per cent (n = 17) reported using Newar, 8 per cent (n = 2) Nepali, and 24 per cent (n = 6) reported using both languages. To explain this we must note that Udas are primarily merchants and traders, working together with their families, so their co-workers are their family members. Predictably, most of the subjects pointed out that they do not have a so-called "boss," since they worked with the family as a cohesive unit. Therefore, only 14 subjects responded to the question--too few on which to draw any conclusions. Regarding the choice of language with customers and clients in general, the subjects do not show any particular preference. Most of the subjects (72%, n = 18, total subjects answering the question = 25)) are likely to use both Nepali and Newar, depending on the language of the customers. For example, if a Newar customer would come in and ask for something in Nepali, an Udas shopkeeper would use Nepali to be polite. This would make the shopkeeper seemingly cooperative and understanding, thereby increasing the chances for a successful transaction. The subjects reported using both Newar and Nepali (72%, n = 18, total subjects answering the question = 25) for bargaining with customers in general while

they (84 per cent, n = 21, total subjects answering the question = 25) reported using more Newar for bargaining with Newar customers.

In the domain of education, Nepali is clearly the single dominant language. Ninety-one percent (n = 37, total subjects = 41) of the subjects reported studying in Nepali in schools. Regarding the choice of language with teachers, 82 per cent of the subjects (n = 33, total subjects = 41) reported using Nepali, 9 per cent (n = 4) reported using Newar, and the rest reported using other languages, especially English.

Attitudes and opinions about Newar and Nepali:

In a language contact situation, attitudinal factors play an important role in determining the nature of the speakers' language use. Many second language learning studies have suggested a positive relationship between success in second language learning and the learners' favorable attitudes toward the second language and its speakers (Spolsky 1989). Native speakers of different languages hold their own attitudes and opinions about languages at their disposal. Attitudes, both positive and negative, are likely to influence their decisions about the choice of languages in different situations (Weinreich 1953). The use of a language other than one's native involves significant decisions about values and allegiances. The extent to which one uses non-native languages will be related to one's linguistic attitudes. It is, therefore, necessary to study the attitudes of the subjects towards the languages in order to better understand their linguistic behavior.

Weinreich defines language loyalty as 'the desire of a speech community to retain its language and if necessary, to defend it against encroachment' (1953:99). Such attitudes are produced when the speakers' language is not dominant, and will be manifested by speakers' resisting to change in the functions of their language. From this viewpoint, the Udas Newars are found to be quite loyal to their language, as shown in their consistent expression of favorable attitudes toward Nepal Bhasha (see Table 2).

TABLE 2

Opinion about uses of Newar and Nepali:

	Newar	Nepali
1. In your opinion, what language is best for formal occasions?	28	20
2. What language do yoũ like the best?	46	2
	Yes	No
3. Would you like to hear new broadcasts in Newar?	46	2
4. Would you like your child (Present or future) to speak Newar fluently?	48	0
5. Would you like your child (present or future) to speak Nepali fluently?	35	13
6. Would you like to have Newar language of instruction?	37	11
7. Do you think efforts should be made to use Newar at schools and offices?	37	11
8. Do you think Newar should be taught at schools?	44	4
9. Would you like to join club for strengthening the use of Newar?	41	7

Table 2 shows that the Udas Newars have positive attitudes toward Newar and take pride in using Newar wherever possible. Nearly all the subjects would like Newar to be taught at schools and be used at offices and in the media. They are willing to join clubs for promoting and strengthening its use. Most importantly, they would like their children to learn Newar fluently. Although 73 percent (n = 35) would like their children to speak Nepali, 27 per cent (n = 13) would not like same.

Reexamination of the concept Diglossia:

Ferguson (1959) first posited the concept diglossia to refer to functional distribution of language use in speech communities where there is an H (High) language co-existing with an L (Low) one. These two languages have their own exclusive functions in the community: the H variety is used for formal, public, and religious purposes, while the L variety is used for less formal, intimate, and private purposes. This concept of diglossia has been extended to cover not only languages, dialects, or registers but any kind of functionally differentiated languages (Fishman 1972). The notion of domain is closely related to Ferguson's concept of diglossia where two speech varieties, High and Low, are used in mutually exclusive spheres of activities. The Low variety is usually used in domains such as family and friendship, while the High variety is used in domains of education, religion, and work.

From the above analysis, we can almost establish a one-to-one relationship between languages and domains among the Udas (see Table 3). The study demonstrates that Newar is the single dominant language at home, among Newar friends, and in religious domains, whereas Nepali is dominant in education and more likely to be used in the domain of work. Hence, we find a diglossic dimension in the functioning of Newar and Nepali: Newar functions in private, intimate domains while Nepali is used in public and formal domains.

The Udas speech community as a diglossic linguistic setting, however, is very different from the classic diglossic speech communities such as those involving Arabic or Modern Greek in two important respects. First, unlike the Udas speech community, both Arabic and Modern Greek represent mono-cultural and monolingual speech communities. In the Arab World, the Classical Arabic, the language of the Koran, is used for sermons, meetings, education, government, and all other formal purposes, and the Colloquial Arabic, the language of oral communication, is used at home, in the market, and for everyday ordinary and informal purposes (Zughoul 1980). The Arabs do not see Classical Arabic and Colloquial Arabic as representing two different ethnicities and cultures; although the two languages are in complementary distribution, they are both considered as indicative of the same ethno-culture--Islam. Similarly, in Greece, Katharevusa, the classical variant is dominant in parliament, politics, education, and other formal occasions while Demotic, the vernacular, is dominant in informal purposes (Ferguson 1959, Sotiropoulos 1977). Since these two language forms exist in a single Greek culture and identity, every person in Greece learns to 'develop the ability to "classicize" and "colloquialize" his speech' (Sotiropoulos 1977:7). For the Udās Newars, on the other hand, the use of Newar and Nepali symbolizes two different ethnocultural identities. In other words, for them to learn and to use Nepali will most likely be a gesture of accepting the foreign culture and in course of time, even giving up their very own ethnocultural identity. Therefore, there is a continual competition between these two language groups; however, one will eventually dominate--most likely Nepali in this case.

Second, and most important, the rigid social evaluation of language varieties in terms of prestige as embodied in the labels High and Low, which is a major characteristic of classic diglossia, is not prevalent in the Udas speech community[2]. In classic diglossic settings, the speakers regard the High variety as superior to the Low variety in many ways (Ferguson 1959). Such reverance for the High variety is so pervasive that 'H alone is regarded as real and L is reported "not to exist"' (Ferguson 1959:330). In the Arabic community, the L is not considered to be the 'real' Arabic language, so much so that many Arabic speakers reported not to use it at all when they in fact used it all the time in their ordinary conversations (Ferguson 1959). In Greece, Katharevusa is the elavated form because it is the language of literature, and because it has preserved the historical continuity of the country (Sotiropoulos 1977). Moreover, the classical varieties are considered "superior" by virtue of their association with religion. For an Arabic speaker the H is the language of the Koran, the language of The Prophet. In addition, Classical Arabic as the language of the Koran has unified the Arab World culturally and religiously by spreading and preserving Islamic culture. Thus, this variety embodies the very essence of the Moslem world, one which is very sacred, and therefore should not be used for any ordinary purpose. This contributes to stabilize the diglossic linguistic behavior in the Arabic speech community (Zughoul 1980). Likewise, in Greece, the H variety is believed to be the language of the New testament and therefore is considered superior to the L variety. Unlike the clear cut social categorization of the languages in the minds of the Arabic and Greek speakers, the Udas speakers do not hold any such feelings whatsoever. Although Newar and Nepali, like in

diglossic settings. function for complementary purposes, they do not fall into the neat categories of High and Low. The above study of the Udas speakers' attitudes and opinions toward these languages clearly reveals that the Udas speakers regard Newar as much more elevated than Nepali in their literary heritage. They do not consider Newar less prestigious than Nepali in any respect, and, in fact, they praise it highly for its rich literary heritage. They take great pride in speaking Newar and do not hesitate at all to transfer it to their children. Still more, they would prefer to speak it in all public and formal occasions.

The absence of the High and Low notions of diglossia in this community is even different from Paraguayan setting where two separate languages--Guarani and Spanish-- exist in a diglossic relationship. For Paraguayans, Spanish is the H language since it is the language of the government, administration, education, and outside communication, whereas Guarani is the L language, one used at home and for everyday purposes. Although they express loyalty and pride toward Guarani, Paraguayans are clearly aware that to be a monolingual in Guarani is to be a Guarango (ill-bred) and to be a fluent speaker of Spanish is to be a cult (educated, civilized) (Rubin 1968:46). The knowledge of Spanish is, therefore, necessary for Paraguayans to advance socially. It is so important, as Rubin (1968) reports, that some parents did not allow their children to speak Guarani at all at home. Thus, for Praguayans Spanish is more prestigious than Guarani, and hence the H and L aspect of diglossia is justified. On the other hand, for the Udas Newars the knowledge of Nepali is not as important to advance socially and economically, because as a group they are socially and economically self-sufficient and independent. First, because most Udas own their own family businesses, the occupational pressures are considerably lessened, which obviously eliminates the need for them to learn Nepali. Second, the Udas Newars live close to other Buddhist Newars while they maintain their offices and shops at home, so they spend their time primarily with other Udas. They also marry primarily within their group and usually with people from the same general area; hence their social networks are relatively closed (Gumperz 1972). Such close knit social relationships not only enforce the use of vernacular among the members but also lessen the need to achieve social success in the larger social context. Therefore, the absence of H-L aspect in the Udas community means that it is a different linguistic situation and more importantly, provides evidence for broadening the notion diglossia.

In the following table I have, therefore, used the labels LA and LB for Nepali and Newar respectively instead of H (High) and L (Low) for two given languages as used by Ferguson (1959), since the use of H and L appears to be inappropriate for this particular speech community.

TABLE 3
The Choice of language and domains among the Udas

Domains	LA	LB
Education	X	
Family		X
Work	X	
Newar friends		X
Non-Newar friends	X	

Note: LA stands for Nepali LB stands for Newar.

Conclusions:

This investigation has shown that the Udas' use of Newar and Nepali is patterned, and not random. The native language, Newar, is the single dominant language at home, with Newar friends, and for religious occasions. Nepali was found to be dominant in education and more likely to be used in the domain of work. With non-Newar friends and strangers, Nepali is more likely to be used . This suggests a functional allocation of Nepali and Newar: Newar is used for private, intimate purposes, while Nepali is used for formal purposes (e.g., education, speeches, and administrative purposes) and with strangers. Based on this functional complementarity between languages, we can categorize the Udas speech community as diglossic. This diglossic behavior, however, is shown to be significantly different from what Ferguson (1959) has described as diglossic speech communities. The distinguishing feature of a classical

diglossic community -- the social characterization of languages in use as High and Low -- is found to be nonexistent in the Udas speech community which, therefore, suggests a need for extending the concept diglossia.

Upon examining the attitudes and opinions of the Udas Newars toward Newar and Nepali, it is clearly apparent that they are strongly loyal and attached to Newar, their vernacular. Although they exhibit functional use of Newar and Nepali, they neither conceptualize Nepali as the High language although they use it for public and formal purposes nor do they regard Newar as the Low language, one that they use for private and intimate purposes. Therefore, this linguistic behavior is significantly different and unique, and in order to accommodate this linguistic situation, the concept of diglossia needs to be reevaluated. More importantly, this study suggests that any future functional investigation of linguistic situations must take into account the attitudes of the speakers toward the languages in question to give a more accurate picture of the speech community.

Notes

1. This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Eighteenth South Asian Conference, held in Madison, Wisconsin (November 1989). Data for this study was collected in Kathmandu, Nepal during a period of four months (September 1988-December 1988). I am grateful to English Department, Ball State University for providing me with travel support . I would like to extend my sincere thanks to Professor Lawrence Davis and professor Charles Houck for their helpful comments and suggestions regarding the earlier drafts of this paper.

2 . Winford (1985), calls for caution in labeling the linguistic situations as being diglossic, for many linguistic situations that have been described as being diglossic do not conform to Ferguson's concept of diglossia, wherein two languages in use are socially evaluated as High and Low.

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How far has Nepal & my Newar-ness drifted from me?

(Childhood Memory)

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Namaskaar! I am a sixteen year old Newar. This is going to be my ninth year living in the land of opportunities but my mind is still fresh as the sip of fresh hot *chiyaa* early in the morning. It feels as if it was only yesterday I enjoyed a sweaty chasing game with my playful cousins in the courtyard of my grandmother's house. I remember being scolded for not wearing shoes while I ran around as if the energy I had would never run out. I miss being a kid growing up with cousins and not worrying about all the problems the world is having. I was born in Prasuti Griha Maternity Hospital in Thapathali, Kathmandu and lived in a brick house at Naradevi Tole. I often stayed at my grandmother's house which is in Ombahal Tole.

My life in Nepal has hit many bumps along the crooked road. We were a destitute family and our home was an old Newar-style fire-baked brick house. I didn't know the definition of being rich but somehow we managed to always be optimistic about our lifestyle. We had to cook on a portable kerosene oil stove. The dreaded part was sharing the house with my dad's brothers and my grandpa.

My day started out very early in the morning. Still sleepy, I would walk a mile or two with my mom to get our fresh milk. Since the milk came straight from a cow, I was known to be a chubby kid in Nepal. Then when I get home I would wash my face and brush my teeth. Sometimes we won't have tooth powder and so I substitute by brushing with *hyan-gvaa*, or charcoal. In Nepal, it is a custom for each individual to wash face, feet, and hands, and teeth before breakfast. While I eat breakfast we would heat water on the stove. After the water became lukewarm then we would utilize it to take a bath. Once we finished our daily necessities then we went shopping at the open market.

Many Nepalese believe that a supreme being means everything in a person's life. Lord Buddha is the supreme being of Buddhism, Shiva is the supreme being of the Hindus, Jesus is the supreme being for Christianity, and so on. Even if we proclaim to have no religion, we often pray to somebody when we need it to guide us through the many obstacles of life. Which is one reason why Nepalese folks like to wake up early in the morning just to pray or give offerings to the gods or to their supreme being. In our country we can't eat or drink before going to any temple and so whenever I went there, my stomach would howl like a lonely wolf crying under a full moon. The worst part was the 300 stone steps of Swayambhu and the hike to reach the top. Once you reach the end of the hike, you can perceive the power of the blessing from the colorful Tibetan prayer flags that flutter against the cool breeze of a crisp morning.

Swayambhu has a white hemispherical mound which has steps carved into them, and it is topped with a shiny *gajur*. The bottom of the *gajur* is cubic and you can see the eyes of the Buddha painted on each faces of the cube. Once you look at those eyes, a heave of relief overwhelms your body because you know that he is watching the world for you. The amazing hemispherical mound represents the four elements of earth, fire, air, and water. I would be liberated after my mom or my grandmother would make some offerings. The prayer wheels were the most entertaining and so that was my first attack. The one thing I hated was the stray monkeys. With hunger lashing inside me I would finally have a chance to eat and next thing I know the stupid monkeys would devour my food.

New and old posters of Hindi films would shadow the walls of Kathmandu. You can also see Nepalese movie posters and once there was a movie made just for Newars. It was titled *Silu* and I had the chance to see it on the big screen. I believe it was the first Newar film. It featured romance, drama, action, and it demonstrated the different view of Newar lifestyle.

The happiest moment in Nepal was the life I often shared with my brother. The memory of him brings bittersweet tears as I face each day without him being there to wipe away the loneliness. He and I always helped my mom at my dad's book store and we would often take long breaks to walk along Rani Pokhari. We would often end up spending our money on laughter and sometimes worthless junk. We would get weight checked by a guy waiting for a costumer to try his home scale for a quarter. Sometime

we ate what we considered junk food and it consisted of extremely crunchy smoked corn on the corn or a cube of '*baraf*'.

Being at the Kumari house one was of my favorite memories. She was a truly a splendid friend and was very amiable. She always had this extraordinary eye make-up and glittering jewellries which made her resemble a peacock who had been unleashed in the Kathmandu Valley. I looked at her more as my friend rather then a 'living goddess'. Every day there would be new visitors wanting to get a glimpse of this 'living goddess' and they are all amused when they see the great Kumari. I remember her gigantic treasure chest being so full of dolls and other neat stuff which tourist had brought her. Through time I learned that she was the reincarnation of Taleju Bhawani e.i. Goddess Durga, which is a Hindu deity. The interesting part is that Buddhist Shakya clan choose the rightful lady to become the next Kumari. The only thing that affected me from going there was her white fluffy dog. You see I was frightened by dogs and can't go near them, even now.

The earliest memory of my Newar life was the day I started school. The memory is sketchy but yet it still lingers inside my mind. I believe the school's name was Laliguras and going there was the scariest experience I had. With tears of fear streaking down my cheek, I had to walk down a flight of stairs made of mud and then pass a house covered with patches of cow dung. When school started I had to stand up with other students to sing *Raastriya Gaan*, Nepalese national anthem. Then we would be seated to begin our learning process. When my teacher taught the English alphabet she did it with harmony. 'C-A-T *cat maane biralo*. D-O-G *dog maane kukur*' was one of her techniques. Around noon an old lady with dark rimmed glasses would come out and bash a gong to indicate lunch. My lunch usually consisted of 'biscuit' or sometimes a big donut. The scariest moment I had there was when I rode on the back of my dad's bicycle. Being a wild kid I am, I caught my right foot on the spokes of the bike. Streaks of tears rolled down my face as my teacher nursed me with an unattractively orange stingy medicine. I was cautious about riding with my dad from that day on. Then I transferred school; it was named Siddhartha Banasthali.

Siddhartha Banasthali, to me, was my second scariest experience I had. The school felt like a dark dungeon with three stories of concrete. The rules were strict and I remember when you didn't do your homework they strip you to your undies and made you walk around with note on the rear rephrasing the cause of this punishment. I created so many puppy faces to escape the embarrassment. The one thing I hated was the blue uniform and the long bus rides there. We also had to pass a shrine on our bus ride and that motivated me to get through a tough day at school. My sister also went to the same school and I used to walk her to my grandmother's house while I went to my dad's store.

The buses in Nepal weren't advanced like here in America and it had only one destination. The dreaded buses were very timeworn with rust forming on sides of the bus and the paint peeling so easily like a banana. The seats had no leg room and some even had holes which almost felt like the American yellow school bus that I used to ride. The worst part was the fact that the people squashed you in there big or small. You could hardly breathe once you are inside and the awful aroma of the people sweating, ugh!! Even the school bus I rode to Siddhartha Banasthali was ugly. They just took a city bus, slapped some kids inside, and called it a 'school bus'.

The most exciting thing about being a Newar is being a Buddhist Shakya and transforming into a monk for one whole week. I received respect in abundance and it made me feel proud to be noticed. I went through different metamorphosis to look like a monk. Some of the things I had to do was to wear these red robe, shave my head, and I had to have holes on my ear lobes. The earrings that I wore were in a diamond shape with some intrigue Buddhist design on it. I also had to wear a necklace *sutaa* which, was in shape of the crescent of a moon. The place that we went to become a monk was in Itumbal where my Shakya family roots belong to. My brother and some of my cousins were also were to be inaugurated that day and so the ceremony seemed to dragged on forever. They did some prayers and rituals then we had to walk around Kathmandu under a very exquisite umbrella. We stopped by an old palace, Hanuman Dhoka, to offer a *Kislee* containing rice, a whole betel nut, money, and incense to the Royal throne. The reason to do this is to register myself as a Buddhist Shakya.

I remember not eating salt for that whole week. They fed me rice pudding *Kheer* in which they made it very sweet. You see that was the food that Buddha had eaten when it was offered by a village lady where Buddha first meditated. I also joked about the fact that rubbing a monk bald head brings good luck and so often I would let my cousins have all the good luck I can offer.

Being a Buddhist I didn't eat any chickens in Nepal but yet had ducks when the occasion came. The way the chicken sold at the market made me nauseous. You see Buddha had an infected toe once and it was healed after a hen pecked the maggots out of his wound. Being thankful, Buddha's followers spared the chicken and so did I. Being a Buddhist is a wonderful experience. In Hindu the main goal is to be reunited with the Creator but yet in Buddhism our goal is to reach nirvana. Which is what inspired me to be faithful to this religion and plus I was born with Lord Buddha in my blood.

Nepal is known as the land of many festivities and we celebrate many holidays. Some festivity goes on for months and some for just a day. I enjoy the festivities of Tihar or Diwali. It is Goddess Luxmi's festival of lights. Tihar, I believe it translates to 'a row of lamps'. This is a five day festival in honor of Goddess Luxmi. We also worship dogs, cows, ourselves, and brothers. Joyous tears overwhelms everyone as families reunite to celebrate this yearly fun. The reason for my liking of these festivities is the sumptuous food presented at the festival. I also like the chance to see all my cousins and the chance to go play out in the garden.

On the fourth day of Tihar, it is a day we Newars worship our own body in which we call *mha puja*. *Mha* means body and puja means worship. On this day we worship Yama Raj, the King of Death, as well as his messenger, Yamadut. On this day we thank him for life to subsist and pray for longer life. On this day our heart and our soul will be purified and our request for enlightenment will be carried through the night. On the day of *mha puja*, the mud floor is cleansed with cow dung and red earth. My favorite part is making the mandala. The family is first seated in row on a straw mat, the eldest towards the front, and me, almost at the tail end. Then my mom would come and make a large circle with water poured from a large traditional Nepalese jug called *Karuwaa*. After that, then its time for the construction of the mandala, my favorite! Because the mandala is hard to remember we sometimes would have to look at a diagram. First we make a lotus design with limestone powder mixed with red vermilion powder. I just love to watch the geometric design come to life. Then we add some inner circles in which the first one is made of wheat, second of dried beans, third of rice, and the last one of puffed rice . Then the finishing complexion is constructed by my mom in which she makes the final oil ring and a dot is put in the center with her left ring finger. This dot represents one's own soul or *chitta*. Once the oil has been put, no one may get up to leave. Now is the time that I would have these leg cramps and my bladder act like a time bomb but yet I dared not to ruin the ceremony.

Now comes the actual ceremony. First I had to separate the petals from a flower and decorate the mandala, then I give some offering. I have to light some wick because it represents life and enlightenment. They put tika on my forehead and put some plain yogurt on each side of my face. Then they give me fruits, flowers, and nuts. Now the dried and fried flat fish is served with a hard boiled egg. It is also served with a hint of wine of my grandma's art. I remember showing off one day and choking on the hard boiled egg. I tried to eat two at once and boy was it hard getting it out. They have to do all this before the wick and incense dies to its last light. Once the ceremony is performed then everyone celebrates the rest of the night with a feast with delectable food and plenty of laughter in honor of the New Year which we celebrate as a Newar.

The tour inside my memory lane does not end here. When the time allows, I intend to keep collecting more to express my experience in the Newar society to inform the Newars of my age who are living away from their nativeland. Remember to never loose the precious memories of being a Newar.

Recent Research on Newar Studies:

The III Himalayan Languages Symposium, University of California, Santa Barbara July 18-20,1997:

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Say and Hearsay in Kathmandu Newar Discourse

This paper examines the contrastive functions of the verb '**Dha(l)-**'speak, say and the reported speech evidential particle hã across spoken and written generes of Kathmandu Newar discourse. Although the verb **dha(l)-** and the evidential particle **hã** can both be said to indicate segments of reported speech, analysis of the two forms suggests that they distribute differentially relative to genre, authority, content and accountability. Thus, rather than functioning as mere indices of reported speech, the contrast between **dha(l)-** and hã becomes part of the matrix which defined the social parameters of the event itself.

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In Naming a Language

The issue of improperly naming a language by just any body may not be tolerated by the native speakers. A problem that an ethnic group in the Himalayan region has been facing seems to be a questionable one. Even though the authoritative body of the region has already recognized the same term that the native speakers want to use, the international circle has not been aware of adopting the same term. Despite of the native speakers' strong request to normalize the issues of naming the language, the scholars are still ignoring it.

This paper presents the controversial issue of naming the language of Newars either by the term **'Newari'** or **'Newar language'** or **'Nepal Bhasha'** or the term **'Newar'** by itself. All of them represent the same language. However, each of these terms carry a significant meaning. Since it is not clearly spoken out anywhere, the controversy of naming the language of Newars is still unsolved. This paper attempts to examine the right term and on the basis of historical evidence and contemporary usage that is endurable in the native circle.

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Verb Agreement in Classical Newar (CN) and Modern Newar Dialects

Based on what is known of the CN verbal morphology, Van Driem (1993:33) argues that "the rudiments of a conjunct-disjunct system characteristic of modern Kathmandu Newar were fully in place in CN" and hypothesizes that the Dolakha Newar (DN) which is more similar to Kiranti than to the current system in Kathmandu is reconstructable for Proto-Newar. Genetti (1990) however argues against any firm hypothesis in view of inadequate data & historical materials from other Newar dialects, but suggests a possible old genetic link to the Kiranti family in DN. In this paper I discuss materials from CN in relation to DN & modern Newar dialects to show their historical connections. I also refer to the findings of Genetti, the contributions of Van Driem & native Newar scholars, particularly Shakya (1990,1992), to determine whether there has been a certain trend in development from DN through the earlier & later phases of CN to the present system in Kathmandu. The paper arrives at three tentative conclusions :

(1) Jorgenson's (1941) analysis of verb morphology in the late 17th & 18th century narrative texts are inconsistent & finds no support in the earliermaterials. His interpretation of the finite markers <-am, -a, -o> as a 1st & 2nd person vs 3rd p. distinction actually suggests a historical change rather than a synchronic agreement system.

(2) Newar verb markings reflect an evidential role of 'agent' & 'patient' & not a grammatical role of 'subject' & 'direct object'. Agent & patient in Newar are not marked for person or number, & this may well be the situation in the earliest form of the language.

(3) Our present knowledge of the diachronic phonology & morpho-syntax of Newar is neither exhaustive nor deep enough to arrive at the conclusion that c/d system in Kathmandu Newar is the result of wholesale borrowing, while DN is the only surviving reflex of the parent language. In other words, many scholars working in the field are not yet convinced that Proto-Newar verb agreement is based on complex morphological & syntactic relations.

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Classical Newar Verbal Morphology: A Preliminary Report

Classical Newar (CN) can be defined as the Newar language which appears in inscriptions, manuscripts & tamsuks (land grants & legal documents, usually written on palm leaves) as recorded in the three major cities of Kathmandu Valley over a period of six centuries (1114-1770 AD). The present study is motivated by the on-going project on the CN-English Dictionary, now in its final stages of editing. This paper seeks to provide a preliminary analysis of CN verbal morphology based on lexical & syntactic data drawn from 38 different source materials including literary genres, historical texts & chronicles. Since these texts & documents represent various stages in the evolution of the language, the paper shall attempt to formulate rules to show morphophonemic developments in CN verb roots & the major changes that have taken place in the inflectional & derivational morphology of CN verbs. The paper will conclude with a brief discussion of its implications on the theoretical consequences of thegiven analysis or its implications for further research on the morpho-syntax of the Himalayan group of Tibeto Burman languages.

American Academy of Religion Nov. 23-24 1995

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University Of Colorado
Ethics in Vajrayana Buddhism

This paper addresses the role of ethics in Vajrayana Buddhism in its classical Indian formulation and inTibet. In western treatment of Tantric Buddhism, ethics are typically either not treated at all, because they are thought not to be important to the tradition, or they are epitomized as antinomian," again giving the impression that ethics in any ordinary or conventional sense are absent from the vajrayana. In fact, ethics are crucial to Tantric Buddhism in India and an accurate assessment of their precise role is essential to any correct understanding of this tradition. This paper will lay out the essential problematic that must inform any attempt to understand Vajrayana ethics. Throughout this disscussion, an attempt will be made to set the bajrayana treatment of the ethics in relation to the larger world of Buddhist ethical tradition of which it was indubitably a part. (HRB XVI:1/2)

25th Annual Conference on South Asia, University of Wisconsin, Madison November 1995

Trevel Balser
Ohio State University
An Iconographic Analysis of the Shrine Facade at Uku Baha

This paper will examinr the iconography of the south wall or shrine facade of Uku Baha in Patan. Since the shrine facade is the devotional focal point of the Baha, a detailed analysis can reveal much about the symbolic function of the monument as a whole. Because the field of Nepalese art history is at a very early stage, the conclusions reached in this paper must be largely speculative. Neverthless, I will argue that there is a fairly coherent iconographic program that demosntrates the complete process of enlightenment as it is understood in Newar Buddhism. In particular there is an explicit reference to the Buddhological understanding of the three " bodies " or kayas, of the Buddha. Nirmankaya, Sambhogakaya, and Dharmakaya. The metal sculptures placed along the wall of the shrine facade represent various Bodhisattva who manifest the yogic and cosmological symbolism that is found on the shrine facade, including the concept of Mount Meru and the sun Moon symbols.

In addition, this paper will grapple with some of the problems of identifying which mandala might be represented in the iconography of a baha. Very rarely do the scluptures adhrere to the srtandard texts. such as the Nispannyogabali and the Sadhana mala. In the strut figures of Ukubaha, there are features of at least two distinct mandalas: *Dharma Dhatu Bagiswara mandala* and *the Vajradhatu Mandala.* Is there a delibrate conflation of mandalas in Newar Buddhism, or it this evidence of an entirely different tradition unknown to schlors ?

In short, it is clear that Uku Baha contains a highly complex and fully developed symbolic system that attempts to communicate some of the central notions of Newar Buddhism.

Dina Bangdel,
Ohio State University
Dharma Dhatu Mandala Iconography at Kwa Baha

One of the major artistic themes found in many Buddhist Bahas of Kathmandu Valley is the Mandala of Dharmadhatu Vagisvara Manjughosa. This iconographic theme emerges time and again in the Baha context: as complete mandalas in the courtyard, as strut figures supporting the shrine facade, or as part of the torana iconography over the shrine doors. The preeminence of this iconographic theme suggests its significance in Newar Buddhism.

In the Newar Buddhist context, the central deity of the Mandala- Dharma Dhatu Vagiswara manjughosa-is identified with the swayambhu Mahachaitya. The little known connection between the stupa and the mandala appears to be the underlying basis of Newar Buddhism, as this relationship is expressed symbolically through complex iconographic programs in the vast number of Buddhist monuments in Kathmandu valley. The focus of my paper is to analyze the iconography of the Dharmadhatu Mandala as it appears in the Kwa Baha, Patan, and to examine how the symbolism of the Mandala defines and reiterates its identification with Swayambhu Mahachaitya.

Janice M. Glowski
Ohio State University
The Goddess Kumari: Structural Hints of Religious Identity

For centuries, inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley of Nepal have worshiped young girls as the goddess Kumari. Like the yoginis of the Valley, Kumari is worshipped in various contexts by followers of several religious paths(marga), such as Buddhamarga, Shiva Marga, and Shaktimarga. Scholars, such as Michael Allen, John Locke, and Mary Slusser, who have examined Kumari worship practices and the bahas that house these deities, have brought forth interesting questions regarding the "religious Identity" (i.e. Buddhist or Hindu) of the goddess Kumari.

This Paper explores the "religious Identity" of Kumari by examining the overall structure and iconography of Kumari Baha, the Home of the Royal Kumari located in Nepal's capital city, Kathmandu. The various iconographic themes present on the structuralism serve not only to generate a sacred abode for the goddess, but like other religious structures in the Valley, provides clues that lead to a greater understanding of the goddess' identity.

Gregory P. Grieve
University Of Chicago
A Dilemma of Dogmas:(Re) constructing an Authentic Temple

This paper uses the reconstruction of the Cyasilin Mandap in Bhaktapur to explore the interaction between development and traditional culture. It concentrates on the contention and ultimate compromise between the western architects' and the 'local artisans' understanding of authenticity. The Dilemma of Dogmas revolves around four gray steel pillars which are visible just beneath the Mandap's second level.

John C Huntington
Ohio State University
Buddhist Iconography in Licchavi Sculpture

The Licchavi period (Ca. 300-879) of Nepalese Art produced considerable numbers of spectecular Buddhist art. Our archive of Nepalese Buddhist art in the Huntington Archive contains 245 photographs of approximately 100 individual objects almost all of which are still to be found in the Bahals and at the major religious sites of the Kathmandu Valley (but not necessarily in their original context). A detailed survey of this material reveals a number of significant iconographic considerations from which one may derive the basic nature of Newar Buddhism of the period. There were cults of the folowing methodologies:

1) The Swayambhu mahachaitya
2) The Buddhas of the past
3) The future Buddha maittreya
4) The jina/Dhyana Buddhas based on the Vairochana cycle as it is still practiced in Nepal to present day
5) Avalokiteswara in his Padmapani form
6) The standard four Bodhisatwas of Matitreya, Vajrapani, Avalokitesvara and Mawusri

One may also conclude, based on the presence of Tantric symbols and representations of Tantric ritual paraprernalia, that tantric practices were present at lest the sixth century on.

Barbara Johnson
Birth In a Newar Village(Video)

During 1978 and 1980, as a film maker for the Smithonian Institution's Human Studies Film Center, Barbara Johnson lived in a Jyapu village in Nepal's Kathmandu valley. The resulting in 50 hours of research film Archives. In this edited film of a birth with traditional birth attendent, the Newari dialogue is translated with English subtiles and narrated by the filmmakers. The film shows the social settingof a traditional Newari Birth, the role of the traditional birth attendants or midwife's, food and religious customs, and disscussion of changes being introduced from the west.

Todd Lewis
College of Holy Cross
The Newar Buddhist Samayak Festival, 1993

In 1993, Samyak the greatest Buddhist festival, was held in Kathmandu City. This celebration is likely a decedant from the ancient panca barshika, a patronage festival of India and central Asia. The Newar Samyak has become the occsasion for the display of some of the most magnificent mahayana Buddhist icons produced in the Himalayan region. The film focusses on major events and the proceedings

of one family which brings its depankara image. The film also intercuts interviews to note the changes in smayaka instituted after the democrateic revolution of 1990: the prime minister attended, the naraation of the royal ceremonies specifically praised King Birendra for supporting multiparty democracy and at the end the king plunged into the crowed to see the Dipamkara Buddhas, the alms distribution, and other icons.

Natalie Marsh
Ohio State University
Musya Bahal and Kwa Bahal in Kathmandu

The Bahal structures of Nepal are of great significance to the religious life of the Buddhist practitioners of all of Nepal. This is evidenced by the number of Bahals of all sizes through out the country, as well as the elaborate artistic patronage bestowed upon esch site. Musya baha, though a modest structure, provides a unique opportunity to view one of the last remaining examples of the early architecture of the Kwabaha . Musya is a branch of Kwa baha in Kathmandu and is located down the street from another similar early baha. Musya's architectuctural elements consists of strut figures, courtyard sculptures, wall paintings, a single chaitya and torans. Through iconographic, textual and inscriptional analysis the iconographic program of Musya baha will reveal the use of the mandala as its basis. The building's significance as a sacred space is evitably linked to this physical and conceptual convention, which is in turn based on the concept of Mt. Meru. At this point, evidence suggests the DharmaDhatu Vagiswara Manjughosa , with the possible conflation of this Vairochana cycle mandala and an Aksobhya cycle mandala. In addition, the iconigraphic elements of Kwabaha in Kathmandu will be used in this analysis.

Kim Masteller
Ohio State University
Defining the Goddess of Hills: Sacred Space of Vajrayogini at Sankhu, Nepal

Perched upon the estern rim of the Valley, the Vajrayogini temple complex at Sankhu is one of the oldest and most important centers of Shakti Worship in the Kathmandu Valley. Passing a sacrificial shrine and several ancient rock cut monuments, visitors at Sankhu recognized the sacred space of Goddess as soon as they begin the ascent to the temple. The courtyard it self contains two main religious structure a three story Vajrayogini temple and two story enshrined stupa.

The goal of this paper is to provide an analysis of the imagery present in the structures and courtyard of Sankhu's Vajrayogini temple. From this study, it may be possible to address the relationship between Sankhu and other goddess sites throughout the valley and the importance of the goddess Vajrayogini in Nepalese Tantric Tradition.

Anu Bedagiri
Ohio State University
Minanath and the cult of Avalokitesvara

The temple of Minanath in Patan, Nepal, with its complex iconographies portrays the interaction between Tantric Buddhism and Hinduism, principally Saivaism. Although commonly known as Minanath(a variation of Matsyendra nath), the principal deity of the temple. Lokewsara is a term that denotes both Siva as the lord of the world and Avalokiteswara worshipped in Nepal, the Saivite borrowinga are quite ovious. According to John K. Locke the deity Matsendra nath is worshipped as Sia Vishnu, Sakti etc. in agreement to the devotion of each devotee.

The intricate sculptural program at the temple, Minanath, poses a varity of problems that are duffucult to comprehend, largely due to the earth quacke in 1934. However, a close study of the figures indicates and obvious juxtapositioning of both Hindu and Buddhist faiths. The focus of this paper is to discuss the ways in which sacred and ritual space is defined by the structure and its translation as understood by the followers of each faith. HRB XVI:1/2

Conference Paper Abstracts and Titles

20th Annual Conference on South Asia, University of Wisconsin, Madison, November 3-4, 1991

Panel: Newar Religion and Nepal
Chair: Gautam Vajracharya,University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA

Robert Levy, National Humanities Center, USA
"Newar Brahmans"

The Newars Brahman plays a full range of Bhramanical roles in a situation which is increasingly rare in South Asia. He is a family priest. Tantric guru and temple priest at the same time. Until recently Brahmans only did priestly work. My paper will discuss the Brahmans's work and its relation to the Newar complex system of auxiliary priests, and will also note the implications of the Brahman's role for the covert aspects of his status in the caste system.

Todd Lewis T.
College of The Holy Cross, USA
"Tibetan Trade and the Sinhalasarthabahu Avadaana: The Domestication of a Newar Buddhist Didactic Tale"

The paper presents a translation and analysis of a popular didactic story (avadaana) characteristic of Indian Mahayan Buddhism that is still important in the living Buddhist community in Kathmandu, Nepal. This work, the Simhalasaarthabahu Avadaana, is a tale of merchants shipwrecked, seduced, then devoured by alluring cannibalistic demonesses . . . except for one hero who is saved by the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara and live to avenge the evildoers.

The relationship highlighted in the Simhalasaarthabahu Avadaana is between merchants and religious traditions: An especially important bond around sex and violence can be read symbolically on several levels. In this text, too, are significant discourses on ethical and political themes central to Buddhism in society.

Part II draws upon anthropological research in Nepal to demonstrate the text's multi-faced relationship with a specific socio-cultural settings. The Simhalasaarthabahu Avadaana has special relevance to the large mercantile community of Kathmandu, where long distance trade with Tibet was an important undertaking in the last millennium. The hero of the story is regarded as a protector of local merchants, a relationship institutionalized in one of the city's oldest Buddhist temples (Vikramasila Mahavihara) and celebrated in a yearly festival. Shrines and ferries along the trade route from Kathmandu to Lhasa also ground the text in reality. Nepalese folklore, art, children's stories, and even a recent cultural comic book also derive from the formal textual account.

The paper concludes by focusing upon the dominant theme in the domestication of this tale: a caution against intermarriage outside the Newar community. In examining this adaptation, the Newar reaction suggest attention to universal patterns of socio-cultural adaptation in Buddhist history.

Panel Himalayan Possession Rituals in Kumaon, Tibet and Nepal
Chair: Allen Fanger (Kutztown University of Pennsylvania)

Linda Iltis ,University of Washington, USA
"Patras and Possession among the Newars of Nepal"

In both Hindu and Buddhist tantric religious practice, the patra or ritual vessel serves as a central focus for ritual action. The vessel provided a physical, visually perceivable support into which a deity is invited to temporarily enter and reside. The support vessel may be drawing, a clay or metal water pot, or an image or a human being.

Configurations of gods and their human patra vessels in Newar communities range from Kumari-s, Ganesh-as as, and Bhairavas who are embodied by children to local geographic gods and famous gods of Purans and epics who are embodied by installed dancer priests, to the Asta Matrika and 330 million gods who may be embodied by women who study to become Dya: Maejus. Ritual practices associated with these transformative traditions are equally varied in appearance.

An examination of human patra vessels in terms of their identities and qualifications, on the other hand, and of the different kinds of gods who enter them, on the other hand, suggest new ways of looking at tantric practice. Patterns of prescribed and proscribed social interactions surrounding human patra vessels and the gods who inhabit them helps increase our understanding of the kinship of both gods and humans in Newar life.

When we think of textual explanation and commentaries of tantric practice in South Asia, patras are mentioned within the context of esoteric Doctrines of Vibration and complex meditation sequences outlined for the exclusive use of highly disciplined yogic practitioners whose primary aim is isolation from the worldly experience and total restructuring of experience inside the body and mind in order to effect change outside the body and mind. This is perhaps one of the most asocial non-interactive kinds of experience one could imagine.

For the Newars of Nepal, the patters or human vessels facilitate religious experience by providing an immediate link between the devotee and the sacred through ritual embodiment. In this context, ritual practice and religious belief systems are both tantric and socially interactive. Mediative accomplishment, physical yoga, and devotion combine to make tantric practices which are designed to provide immediacy for both practitioner and community.

19th Annual Conference on South Asia Madison Wisconsin, November 4-5th, 1990

Panel: Newar Diaspora Throught out Nepal
Chair: Ter Ellingson, University of Washington

Daya Ratna Shakya ,University of Oregon, USA
"Language and Newar Identity"

Newar Diaspora communities in the middle hills and tarai show a wide range of linguistic variation in their adaption. Part I of this paper attempts an overview description of this language pattern based upon field studies conducted in settlements of Kathmandu (1986-90), and relates dialect trends to the history of migration. It will examine factors such as family's caste and original home location of in the Valley, the population size of the new settlement, and the intensity of contemporary ties maintain (kin, business, cultural) with the hearth zone, seeking to correlate how these variables have affected the survival of Newari language. Part II will summarize the nature of dialect differences where Newari is still spoken today in the study sites of Palpa, Pokhara, and Gorkha. Part III will attempt to relate the linguistic evidence to larger cultural aspects of the Newar adaption to the mid hills of central and western Nepal.

Todd Lewis , College of Holy Cross, USA
"Newar Religion in Diaspora Settlements"

The migration of Newar artisans, merchants, and government officials outside the Kathmandu Valley over the last three centuries has been a formative feature in regional demographic and economic change across Nepal's middle hills. As whole lineages resettled, each brought core elements of their hearth culture with them. Today, Diaspora Newars maintain a striking array of transplanted traditions and these have also interacted with the cultures of surrounding hill societies.

Part I of the paper presents descriptive overviews of religious tradition in three sites: Trisuli, Bhojpur, and Chainpur. Epigraphic and ethnographic data gathered in 1986-7 are used to present these case studies against a historical backdrop. Part II analyzes the patterns of enduring Newar Diaspora religion in terms of Hindu-Buddhist contestation, Theravada missionizing, and caste-centered ritual cults. The paper

ends with conclusions about the role of religious tradition in the maintenance of Newar ethnic boundaries in modern Nepal.

Linda Iltis ,University of Washington, USA
"The Sword and the Truck Stop"

The Newars of the Kathmandu Valley of Nepal, in the process of establishing satellite trade communities throughout rural Himalayan areas, dramatically shaped and reinterpreted local traditions through their introduction of bo the textual media and urban styles to previously non-urban settings. Local traditions likewise provided the Newars with new stimuli for creative adaptions of urban ritual forms to new non-urban settings and ethnic diversity.

Self-representative of ethnic identity and expressions of political unity and autonomy often underlie such rituals, particularly those centered on goddesses. In the Khadga Jatra of Bandipur, a sword of a former powerful king embodies the goddesses Durga. A Khadga is a double-edged sword, symbolically as well as physically. It may symbolize political might, but in association with the goddess it also symbolizes the power of wisdom and destruction of illusion. Thus, in the myth told as the foundation of the ritual, the king who owned the sword ruled many people by forced unification, without recognition of their ethnic diversity. But through the power of the goddess, a richer unity, built on recognition of ethnic diversity emerges victorious.

The Khadga Jatra ritual for the sword goddess not only recreates this mythic victory on the symbolic level of ritual action, but it also facilitates inter-ethnic cooperation and convergence on the immediate phenomenal level of socioeconomic interaction. With recent changes in local demography due to shifts in geopolitical boundaries and road construction, the meaning of local unity and diversity is undergoing new processes of redefinition and reinterpretation. As these process unfold, the ritual seems to take on a revitalized meaning through ever expanding reinterpretations of the sword, the goddess, and political and ethnic identities.

Panel: Psychological Approaches to Person, Society and Culture in Nepal
Chair: Robert Levy, University of California-Sand Diego;
Discussant: McKim Marriott, University of Chicago

Steven Parish
Boston University
"The Sacred Mind: Aspects of the Social, Moral and Religious Meaning of Psychological Life in Newar Culture"

Among Hindu Newars of the Kathmandu Valley of Nepal, the mind is sacred, and psychological experience has moral significance. This paper explores the way the psychological experience has social, moral, and religious meaning for Newars, focusing on aspects of Newar ethno-psychology that help shape moral identity and self-awareness. Individual self-awareness of an "inner life" develops in term of the cultural meaning that psychological experience has for Newars. In the Newar view, a moral god animates the mind, and the efforts of individuals to monitor and transform their"Inner lives" may draw on the language of religious life. Newar accounts of psychological experience may also focus on its social context and moral meaning. Implicit understandings of moral experience and agency seem to be deeply embedded in the way Newars speak of psychological life. Newars conceive of the experience of a moral self in terms of sensitivity to moral emotions, and in terms of a capacity for self-control and self-knowledge.

Robert Levy
University of California-San Diego, USA
"Some Psychological Implications of the Organization of Life in a Traditional Newar City"

The presenters of this paper studied the urban organization of the very conservative predominantly Hindu Newar city of Bhaktapur in the Kathmandu Valley in 1973-76. The city's organization was of a

strikingly "pre- modern" archaic form. Some 40,000 people lived in a relatively self-sufficent unicultural community, whose social structure, space, time and a substantial segment of its action was minutely organized through powerful, dramatic, highly differentiated and interrelated religious symbolism. The socio-cultural organization of the city, with its marked contrasts to the sorts of organization of simpler non-Western communities on the one hand and modern towns and cities on the other, had implications for much of the private experience and psychological organization of Bhaktapur's citizens. This paper will discuss several salient features of an interview sample of Bhaktapurians that seem closely related to the organization of the city. Those include aspects of cognitive organization, aspects of belief, "symbol hunger," and aspects of personal autonomy and identity.

The 18th Annual Conference on South Asia, University of Wisconsin, Madison Nov. 3-5, 1989

Session 7: Multivalence and Identity: The Gods and Their Worshipers in Kathmandu Valley Society

Owens, Bruce, Columbia University,USA.
"Power and Proximity: Divine Multivalence and the Social Ritual and Belief among the Newars"

Ellingson, Ter , University Of Washington, USA.
" Forms of a Formless God: Multivalence and flexibility in Newar Culture"

Iltis , Linda L. University Of Washington USA.
"19 Gods, 8 Ghosts, and 2 Dogs: Masked Gods and Multiple Meanings in Newar Religion"

Session 15 : Recent Research in Himalaya Studies: The maintenance of Individual and Group Boundaries

Lewis, Todd T. Rutgers University, USA
Growing Up Newar: Childhood and Tradition in Chittadhar Hridaya's Jhii Machaa"

The 16th Annual Conference on South Asia, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Nov. 6-8, 1987

Anning Jing,
Ohio State university
"Aniko (1244-1306): A Newari Artist in China"

Aniko was a leading artist and high ranking art official among the others who were responsible for many Buddhist, Taoist, Confucius and imperial monuments and images at the court of Yung Dynasty of China. He established himself at Yuan court by his successful restoration of a Song Dynasty bronze human figure. Since then the Yuan Emperors always entrusted him with responsibility for important imperial projects. His major accomplishments include nine great Buddhist temples, three stupas, one Taoist temple and two shrines. It is important to realize that he was not working individually in yuan court but was a first grade high ranking official in charge of two large ministries with hundreds of officials. It is also important to note that Aniko's career did not stop after his forty years of service at Yuan court. His son Ashengge continued his fathers career as a leading artist and art official. Aniko's most important Chinese student is Liu yuan.

Stephen L. Mikesell.
Kathmandu. Nepal.
"Newar Community,Caste Relations, and the State in West-Central Nepal"

This paper presents the historical development of a Newar Bazaar town in Nepal in terms of the development of particular interests represented in various caste groups in their relationship to the state and to each other. It argues that while caste is the framework in which state hegemony is exerted, and lends an appearance of unity of interest within the towns have been called " Newar" towns, their form and character are created in the process of alienation of other groups by the Newars as merchants.

Anup Pahari
University of Wisconsin. Madison
"A Study on the Peasantry of Kathmandu Valley."

It has been said that the peasants of Kathmandu Valley are among the most productive agriculturists in Asia, their organization of production almost akin to horticulture of gardening. These are the Newar, or more accurately, the Jyapu people of Kathmandu who have farmed the fertile soils of the valley from antiquity and whose labor continues to be expanded even to day in meeting some of the cereal and most of the legume demands of a growing .metropole in addition to subsistence production. Yet, in both the history of the inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley as well as in the history of the peasant populations of Nepal, the Jyapu have been by and large relegated to footnote status. In most studies they are treated as a small section of the Newar people and their social, economic and cultural lives are assigned a marginal place within the larger elite Newar culture and religion. In this paper we take as our starting point the simple fact that populations have to produce their conditions of material existence and that for the longest period this has meant, within the valley of Kathmandu, agricultural production. Control over and the surplus thereby generated form the core mechanism through which the social and political systems ensured continuity. It was on the basis of the surplus generated from the land that the historic monuments. palaces and artistic splendor of the ancient and medieval kingdoms of Kathmandu were constructed and maintained. The socio-economic structures and processes that were historically mobilized to organize agriculture and agricultural labor are therefore of fundamental importance to any understanding of the history of the valley in General. The focus of the paper will be on the changing nature of these mechanisms of social organization of production and the modes in which the Jyapu peasantry has sought to accommodate or resist these historically. These will be traced to the current period and the fundamental alterations in social and economic relations ushered in by the Gorkha conquest. The opening up of the Valley to the external world will be analyzed as it has affected the Jyapu peasantry. Some unique historical combinations like the "Urban peasant " will be analyzed in the light of the debates on the development of capitalism and the transformation of the peasantry in the other parts of the world. Also, the effects on the peasant socio-demographic structure, of the growth of educational, public health and medical facilities. non- agricultural urban jobs and the rising value of real estate in Kathmandu will be examined and compared to other models of peasant transitions. (HRB VII: 2/3)

The 14th Annual Conference on South Asia, University of Wisconsin, Madison Nov. 1-3, 1985

Allen, Michael
The University of Sydney
"Marriage and the Status of Newar Woman"

In this paper I examine Newar marriage arrangements and their implications for the status of woman as wives. mothers, and daughters. Three main bodies of data are examined-- the dated status of spouses (i.e. whether marriages are hypergeneous. anaganous or isoganous. marriage rituals, including the mock- marriage of young pre- pubertal girls to a Hindu god. and post-marital customs concerning divorce. the status of widows and the property rights of woman.

Iltis, Linda L.
University of Wisconsin
An Evolutionary Model of Newar Ritual Traditions (Panel: Aspects of the Kathmandu Valley Civilization : history, Tibetan contacts, language and Ritual).

The religious practices of the Newars of Nepal are often viewed as corruptions of the merged great traditions of Hinduism and Buddhism. But perhaps the phenomenon of merged identities is only one aspects of a process of convergent evolution; there is also a process which results in divergent evolution. Examination of smaller units of ritual performance shows conventionalized patterned relationships between ritual symbols and actions, and variant structures of ritual traditions as a process in which complimentarity of symbolic structures determines the synthesis of cultural information and behavior into meaningful acceptable patterns. In Newari rituals, not all performances or "recombinations" of smaller ritual units into larger structures are acceptable or viable. Cultural boundaries set the limits for what is acceptable ritual interpretations. The recombination of small ritual units is widespread in South Asian religious traditions; thus ritual forms are in a constant state of evolution. Because of their extensive and longstanding trade relationships with other areas, the Newars have had a vast wealth of cultural and religious information and symbolic forms at their disposal. This has resulted in the development of an extremely rich variety of ritual forms.

Lewis, Todd T.
Columbia University
Newars and Tibetans in the Kathmandu Valley (Panel: Aspects of the Kathmandu Valley Civilization)

Although continually Indianized since Lichchavi times, Kathmandu Valley culture also reflects its position as a satellite on the periphery of Tibetan civilization. After reviewing the history of Tibetan presence in the Valley up to the present, the paper explores the implications of this influence for Nepalese historiography and the anthropological analysis of Newar Buddhist tradition. (HRB VI:1)

The 13th Annual Conference on South Asia, University of Wisconsin, Madison Nov. 1-3, 1984

Ellingson, Ter, University of Washington- Seattle, USA
The Gam Pyakham of Patan: A Classical Newar Ritual Dance in Nepal (Panel: The Practice of Ritual and Performance in South Asia)

One of the richest and least known classical artistic/ ritual traditions of South Asia is the pyakham dance tradition of the Newar Civilization of Nepal. Ranging from abstract solo dances to comedy to modern theater, pyakham reaches its fullest expression in the elaborate masked dance dramas. In these, rare surviving forms of classical Indian Sanskrit theater and Indian Buddhist ritual practice blend with Newar culture and cosmology to create special forms which artistically and ritually restructure the experience of performers and community. The Gam Pyakham is a Buddhist tantric dance composed by a Newar king and a Buddhist priest in the 17th century , in the style of centuries older Indian Buddhist dances. Performed by high caste Buddhist priests, it combines Sanskrit ritual and historical drama with Newari comic interludes. In their transformation to embodiments of indigenous Newar and Hindu Buddhist deities, the dancers create a geometric embodiment of the geography and cosmology of Nepal, transforming it into a mandala framework for attaining Buddhist Tantric realization. (Part 2 of two introductory studies of the Newar Pyakham. See also Linda Iltis, "The Jala Pyakham of Harisiddhi")

Hanson- Barber A. W.
Middle town, Wisconsin
The Role of the Guru in the Vajrayana: A New Interpretation Based on Newar Sources
(Panel: Approaches to Nepali Cultural History)

Most of our knowledge of the position of the *guru* is based on Hindu and Tibetan sources. Dismissing the Hindu notions on this subject as in appropriate in a discussion of Buddhism, the focus is on the development of the position of the *guru* in Tibetan culture and how these notions have been translated to western audiences. This development is historically documented to have developed from an extreme line of " transmission" originating in India with Naropa and Tilopa. It is further developed with the acquisition of political power by holy figures in Tibet and culminates in the notion of the Tulku. In contrast to this, the Newar tradition does not maintain a theory of the guru as deity. Instead, in its reading of the texts of the Vajrayana, it understands several different interpretations of the *guru* notion depending on the context. The first is that of the *Buddha Vajrasattva* as the *guru* to all individuals. The second in importance is the notion of the of the internal *guru* which is in fact *Vajrasattva*. The lowest in priorities is the human teacher. However, the lack of political power for the Newar *guru* has developed a notion associated with the relationship between guru and disciple according to different lines than those above. This is seen as the relationship of any student to a teacher in the classical Indian pattern where abusive behavior of the *guru* towards the the student is not acceptable. Finally, it is argued that this is probably the correct interpretation for understanding this phenomena even in Indian Tantric Buddhism.

Iltis, Linda
University of Wisconsin, Madison.
The Jala Pyakham of Harisiddhi: A classical Newar Ritual Drama in Nepal
(Panel: The Practice of ritual and performance).

One of the richest and least known classical artistic/ritual traditions of south Asia is the *pyakham* dance tradition of the Newar Civilization of Nepal. Ranging from abstract solo dances to comedy to modern theater, *pyakham* reaches its fullest expression in the elaborate masked dance dramas. In these, rare surviving forms of classical Indian Sanskrit theater and Indian Buddhist ritual practice blend with Newar culture and cosmology to create special forms which artistically and ritually restructure the experience of performers and community. Reputedly the oldest masked *pyakham* is the *Jala pyakham* of Harisiddhi. This dance theater is famous for its historical content, and for embodying all the gods, Hindu and Buddhist, of Nepal. Harisiddhi is itself a uniquely sacred village, with a special lineage of local priest who become the gods of dances. Simultaneously the most classical and the most ritual of the Newar pyakham traditions, the *Jala Payakham* vividly exhibits a fundamental unity of the art and ritual in the interactions of the dancers and audience during a performance. (Part I of two introductory studies on the Newar *Pyakham*. See also Ter Ellingson, "The *Gam Pyakham* of Patan").

Lewis, Todd T.
Columbia University.
Galactic Polity and the Anthropology of Hindu-Buddhist Relations in the Himalayas
(Panel: Approaches to Nepali Cultural History)

Religious tradition in the Himalayas has often been characterized as "the Indo-Tibetan Interface". This paper considers this subject using S. J. Tambiah's notion of "galactic polity" to define the continuities and contrasts between the Bramhanical and Buddhist organization of religious tradition. The Kathmandu Valley civilization provides the central focus for this analysis, since for the last 1500 years Hindu-Buddhist interrelations have been a distinctive feature of Newar Culture. Furthermore, the longstanding presence of Tibetan Buddhist Institutions and more recent Shah state Hinduism in the Valley complicates the confluence of religious institutions, royal alliance, and the meaning of "religious field" to the lay polity. We propose analytical themes that clarify the ethno-historical analysis of Himalayan religion.
(HRB V:I 1985)

The 85th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 3-7, 1986

Baired, R. Elizabeth
Boston
Garbage for Gods: Chhwaasa dio in Kathmandu, Nepal
(Panel: Religion, Theoretical and Imperative studies)

Although the Newar of the Kathmandu Valley in Nepal are divided into either Hindu or Buddhist caste system, they maintain a strong shared ethnic identity. This paper reports on one shared belief, the *Chhwaasa Dio*, a minor god responsible for certain kinds of polluted materials. The social importance of common religious beliefs in the context of major religious differences will be discussed. Common symbolic features of the rites involving propitiations of the *Chhwaasa* will be summarized while photographs will illustrate the diversity of neighborhood *Chhwaasa* shrines.

Tribhuvan University Research Division
(Foreign Researchers affiliated with Tribhuvn Uiversity)

Declan Quigley, (1985)
The History and Social Organization of Shrestha in Nepal
Objectives:

1) To add to the general ethnograph of Nepal at a time when social and economic institutions are under going rapid change; this is particularly marked among Shrestha who are among the most mobile sectors of the population.

2) To compare the urban nature of Newar social organization with that of studies of Caste societies elsewhere which are typical of rural communities.

3) To analyze the social cohesion of Newars from the perspectives of established theories in Sociology. (HRB V:1)

The 9th Annual Conference of Linguistic Society Of Nepal (LSN), Kathmandu Nepal, (1988)

Tamot, Kashi Nath
Nepal Bhasha Dictionary Committee, Kathmandu, Nepal.
"Notes on Proto- Newari Numerals"

Newari has a Tibeto--Burman cognate numeral system. It extends from one(1) to a thousand (1000) as in Tibetan and Burmese. The Newari numeral system is close to Tibetan than to Burmese. Here an attempt is made to reconstruct the Proto-Newari numeral forms by comparing with Tibetan, Burmese and Proto-Tibeto-Burman(PTB). Here Proto-Newari means the language used before the classical Newari period(AD 879-1769). In Nepalese history it covers the Lichchavi(AD 100-879) and Pre-Lichchhavi period(BC 100-AD-100). Proto-Newari is supposed to be used initially in Pre-Lichchavi period, that is, the Gopal-Kirat period of Nepalese history. Proto Newari has 'y' and 'r' clusters. The Non-Sanskrit vocabulary of the Lichchavi inscriptions. It will be closely related with Himalayan languages of Nepal. It will bridge PTB and the Himalayan languages of Nepal, since Newari is one of the five oldest languages of

Sino-Tibetan, which has written documents since the beginning of the 12th century. About 400 TB cognate Newari lexemes have been compiled. Here only 12 proto-Newari numeral lexemes have been presented. They are :

1. * tshik	5. * na	9. *gu
2. * nis	6. * khruk	10. * jip
3. * sum	7. * nhas	100. * srya
4. * pri	8. * tsryat	1000. * don

HRB VIII:3

Malla, K.P.
Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, Nepal.

To Borrow or Not to Borrow: A Lexicographer's Dilemma

The classical Newari Dictionary Project has now a draft computerized file of about 30,000 records of attested forms of Newari words drawn from the bilingual lexicons, narrative texts, plays poems, didactic works an chronicles -all texts dated between AD 138- - 1900. In the following year or two we hope to access additional records from historical diaries, chronicles, and inscriptions and technical literature.

The file has a large component of Indo -Aryan loans (estimated elements of Newar literature and culture are drawn from Sanskrit sources this is all but natural. Borrowing from the Great tradition by the Little tradition is inevitable in the typical language contact situation of the Nepal Valley. Our source- texts came from a highly Sanskritized elite. Except for the diaries and the Chronicles, the source texts are all modeled on Sanskrit originals either as translations or as free recensions.

Confronted with such a corpus, we as lexicographers are facing difficult choices. The easiest course would have been to compile all the attested items-loans as well as native words. However, this will have some serious consequences. In the first place, the Dictionary will have a disproportionately large component of Indo-Aryan loans, giving a distorted impression of the lexical structure of the Classical Newari language. Secondly, apart from the cost and time factors involved, few persons are likely to consult a classical Newari Dictionary to check the meaning or usage of Sanskrit or Middle Indo-Aryan words unless they have deviant meanings or usage in Newari texts.

Our main focus should be the native stock of words, words which have been assimilated or indigenised even though they are loans (as in column 3 and 4). Ordinarily, loans which are semi-transparent (as in column 2) are preferable to loans which are transparent (as in column 1) however, this is not to suggest that we reject Sanskrit loans altogether. Attested loans are also significant to study the displacement and decay of native vocabulary.

While working on an edition of a palm-leaf Sanskrit-Newari manuscript, Naradsmriti dated N.S. 500/AD 1380, some 12,998 words were identifiable in the Newari portions. Eliminating repetitions, 6,242 words can be identified which w included all orthographic, morphological, and inflected forms of the stems. While preparing the glossary of the manuscript, I decided to eliminate all transparent Sanskrit loans (1820 words in all), retaining the semi-transparent loans (column 2) some of which are only orthographic variants of Sanskrit loans. There were 20 loan verbs in which the root was Sanskrit whereas the suffix was Newari (column 3). About 20 more (column 4) were New Indo-Aryan (Hindi-Maithili) verb-roots, again with the Newari suffix **rap-e**. The remaining stock of vocabulary in the manuscript seems to be all native.

In the following centuries, however, the pressure of Indo-Aryan was visible, very often displacing the native words altogether. Today the entire numerals, direction words and even kinship terms are completely replaced by loans.

Much historical wealth of the language lies buried beneath several strata of loans which often give comparative and historical linguists false clues to the unique lexical structure of Newari. (HRB VIII:3)

Rudra Luxmi Shrestha
Tribhuwan University, Kathmandu , Nepal

"Consonant Clusters in Dolakha Newari Dialect."

Papers presented on Newar Studies in the Linguistic Society Of Nepal Annual Conferences:

Thirteenth Annual Conference Nov. 26-27, 1992
Daya R. Shakya,
Referential Management in the Bhaktapur dialect of Newar Discourse.

Eighth Annual Conference , Nov. 26-27, 1987
Daya R. Shakya
"Distribution of Newars and their Language"

Fifth Annual Conference , Nov. 26-27, 1984
Malla, Dr. Kamal P., **"Some problems of Newari Diacronic Syntax"**
Kashinath Tamot, **"Labial Glide(W) and Palatal Glide(Y) in the Early Classical Newari"**

International Conference -
Seminar on Heritage of Kathmandu Valley:
Proceedings of an International Conference in Lübeck, June 1995.
Edited by Neils Gutschow And Axel Michaels. VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, Sankt Augustin, 1987
Content Includes Following Papers :

Mary Shepard Slusser: **"The Cultural Aspects of Newar Paintings"**
Gautam V. Vajracharya: **"An Interpretation of two *Siil*ar Nepalese paintiongs is Cultural History"**
Anne Vergati: **"The King as rain maker: a new version of the legend of the Red Avalokiteswara in Nepal."**
Siegfried Lienhard: **"A Nepalese painted scroll illustrating the Simhalavadana"**
Eduard F. Sekler: **"Urban design at Patan Darbar Square a preliminary inquiry"**
Raimund O.A Becker, Ritterspach: **"Certain aspects of design of Nepalese degah with ambulatory Surrounding cella."**
Saphalya Amatya: **"Nepal stategy on Heritage conservation"**
Robert I. Levy: **"How the Navadurga protect Bhaktapur. The Effective meaning of a by symbolic enactment.**
Niel Gutschow & Ganesh M. Basukala: **"The Navadurga of Bhakapur- spatial implications on an urban ritual."**
Axel Michaels: **"The Trisul yatra in Deopatan and its legends."**
Linda L. Iltis: **"The Jala Pyakhan a classical Newar dance drama of Harisiddhi."**
Gerard Toffin: **"Funeral and Caste system in Kathmandu valley."**
Reinhard Herdick: **"Deaths ritual in Kirtipur in relation to urban space- on the evolution of a complex ritual."**
Ulrike Elisa Beth Müler-Bokar: **"Man, religion and agriculture in the Kathmandu Valley."**
Peter Webster: **"Bolajya- the social organization of labour amongest the Newars of the Kathmandu Valley."**
Gopal Singh Nepali: **"Changes in rigidity and flexibility of caste in the Kathmandu Valley."**
Hiroshi Ishi: **"Social Change in a Newar Village."**
DhanaV. Vajracharya: **"The developement of early and medieval settlements in the Kathmandu valley- a review of the inscriptional evidence."**
David Gellner: **"The Newar Buddhist Monatery: an anthropological and historical typology"**
Michael Witzel: **"The Coronation rituals of Nepal with special reference to the coronation of King Birendra. (1975)"**
Gert-M. Wegner: **"Navadapha of Bhaktapur. - repertoire and performance of the ten drums"**

International Conference-Seminar of Nepalese Studies, Stockholm, June 9-12, 1987. Organized by The Scandinavian institute of Asian Studies, and sponsored by the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, history and Antiquities: The papers related to Newar Studie are as follows: (Ref: HRB VII:1)

Michael Allen:	"Procession and Ritual Journey in Newar Religion"
Ian Alsop:	"The Capuchin and the King: Padre Vito and Bala Govinda'a Little Book"
Ter Ellingson:	"The Mathemativs of Newar buddhist music"
Adalbert Gil:	"The Dvadasaditya in Kva baha"
David Gellner	"The Perfection of Wisdom: A Text and its Uses in Kwa Baha Lalitpur"
Neils Gutschow:	"Bisket-Jatra Of Bhaktapur
Reinhard Herdick:	"Naikap-Eine Von Newars Gepraegate Siedlung Aendert Seine Sakralen Formen"
Linda Iltis:	"Pilgrimage and the Concept of place in Swasthani Vrata.
Hiroshi Ishi :	"Change of Sana-Guthi in a Newar Village"
Todd Lewis:	"Red Robes and Buttered Tea: Newars and Tibetans in the Kathmandu Valley"
Siegfried Lienhard:	"On some Key-terms in Newar Buddhism"
John K. Locke:	"Buddhist themes on the Toranas of Newar Monasteries"
Ulrike Müller-Boker:	"Traditional Technology in the kathmandu Valley: The Utilization of the Soils and Sediments"
Declan Quigley:	"Social Mobility and Social Fragmentation in the Newar Caste System"
Mary Slusser:	"On an Indian kalamkari Honoring the Navadurga of Bhaktapur"
Carl Suneson :	"The Krishnacarita -some Observations on a Classical Newari Drama"
Gérard Toffin:	"L'organisation sociale des brahmanes Rajopadhyaya de la vallée de Kathmandu"

Aspects of Nepalese Traditions, Preceedings of a Seminar held under the Auspices of the Tribhuvan University, Research Division and the German Research Council, MArch 1990, (Ed). Bernhard Kolver. Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart (1992).

Content Includes following topics on Newar Studies:

Heinz Bechert :	Report on a Study of Buddhist Revival in Nepal
Axel Micheals:	Luku Mahadyah- The hiding Shiva, A Nepalese Stone Deity and Its Cult.
Gert M. Wegner:	Invocations of Nasadyah
Bernhard Kolver:	Some Examples of Syncretism in Nepal.

Dissertation and Thesis Abstracts

Sharkey,Gregory
Daily Rituals in Newar Buddhist Shrines.
Ph.D. Oxford University,1997

This thesis presents an account of the rituals performed each day at traditional Newar shrines in the Kathmandu Valley. An ancillary objective is to shed light on Buddhist Sanskrit hymns (sutras), and related genres of verse, which are used in the celebration of these rituals. Though particular attention is paid to the rites at Uku Bahal(Rudra Varna Mahavihara) in Lalitpur, this report aims to provide a general understanding of the daily pujas. Tit includes a description of ways in which the rites vary at different venues in the valley. Rapid social change in Nepal has led to a transformation of Newar religious practice, including the rites considered here. In addition to documenting this element of Newar devotional practice, I refer to ongoing changes in the practice of the rituals and suggest reasons for them.

Earlier studies have shown that Newar Buddhists regards their practice of Buddhism as tripartite, encompassing the Shraavakayaana, Mahayana and Vajrayaana. In their views, the dominant form of Buddhism in Nepal, the Vajrayaana subsumes the earlier and more fundamental forms of Buddhism without entirely displacing them. It has been suggested further that the daily rituals represent a stratum of primitive Buddhist practice which esoteric practice presupposes. That claim is assessed here. The conclusion reached is that it is essentially correct, but subject to some important qualifications. The daily pujaa can be fairly described as a survival of Shraavakayaana practice, as its historical continuities with primitive Buddhist worship, and its similarity to current Theravada practice indicate. Some antecedents and parallels are treated here. It is nonetheless true that the language and ritual forms of Tantric Buddhism have influenced the development of the esoteric daily ritual. Evidence for this is presented in the analysis of the framework of the rituals as performed in many Buddhist shrines today. (Source:Personal Connection)

Genetti, Carol Elaine
A Descriptive and Historical Account of the Dolakha Newari Dialect. Ph.D. University Of Oregon, 1990 379pp. Adviser: Scott DeLancey. (Order Number DA 9111112)

This thesis is a descriptive and historical account of the Dolakha dialect of Newari, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Nepal. The split between the Dolakha dialect and other dialects of Newari occurred a minimum of seven hundred years ago. So while this dialect still retains vocabulary and grammatical features which clearly indicate its Newari origin, it has undergone sufficient change to be truly mutually unintelligible with the standard dialect spoken in Kathmandu.

The Dolakha dialect differs significantly from the Kathmandu dialect in virtually every subsystem of the grammar. The most notable variation is found in the verb morphology, since Dolakha exhibits agreement with the person and number of the subject, while the Kathmandu morphology codes a complex system based on the interaction of speech act and evidential distinctions with no true agreement with person or number. Other significant differences include the presence of retroflex and syllable final consonant, the morphology of nominalized and relative clause, and the role of the grammatical relations.

This thesis provides a description of the phonology, morphology and syntax of the Dolakha dialect. Accompanying the description is a comparison with the Kathmandu dialect and discussion of the historical implications of the data for the reconstruction of the proto-Newari and the paths of divergence which led to the synchronic system.
HRB XI(1-3) 1991 p.105

Leech,Chales Russell, III
Tibetan Buddhist/ Newari Buddhist interface in the Kathmandu Valley. Ph.D. The University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1990. 210 pp, Supervisor: David Knipe (Order Number DA 9108725).

This dissertation discusses the historical and religious relations between the Newars of the Kathmandu valley of Nepal and their Tibetan Buddhists counterparts. The primary subject of inquiry is the modern-day Tibetan Buddhist influence on what are commonly perceived to be declineing Newari Buddhist religious institutions. After presenting an over view of the historical relations and respective religious practices of the Newar and Tibetan Buddhists, the paper assesses the factors limiting religious interaction between the Tibetan Buddhists refugees and the Newari Buddhists.
HRB XI:1-3)1991

Shrestha, Uma
Social networks and code-switching in the Newar community of Kathmandu city. Ph.D. Ball State University, 1990. 136 pp.
Adviser: Lawrence M. Davis (Order Number DA 9102159)

The present study seeks to investigate the linguistic behavior of two Newar high castes, called the Shrestha and Udas, living in Kathmandu, the capital city of Nepal, in their use of Newar, the ethnic language, and Nepali, the national language. Specifically, the study attempts to explain the hypothesis that the Hindu (Shrestha) Newars are becoming monolingual in Nepali while the Buddhist (Udas) Newars are maintaining bilingualism in Nepali and Newar. To do so, a questionnaire was distributed to a total of 96 subjects, selected through quota sampling procedures. The questionnaire not only elicits information about the situational and societal variation in the subjects ' use of Newar and Nepali but also reveals their attitudes and opinions about the differential use of these languages. Also, the participant method was employed to supplement and validate the responses derived from the questionnaire survey.

The results from this study suggest a diglossic behavior in the Udas' use of Newar and Nepali, which, however, is remarkably different from those found in classic diglossic settings. This, in turn, leads to a reexamination of Ferguson's concept of diglosia. The Shresthas differences between these two groups are related to their varied social networks and relationships; the Udas Newars' greater use of Newar is due to their closed social networks while the Shrestha' greater use of Nepali is due to their open social networks.

The data on the analysis of the subjects' attitudes and opinions toward Nepali and Newar indicate that the Udas Newar are positive and favorable toward Newar while the Shresthas are ambivalent in their opinions toward these languages. This study , therefore, emphasizes a strong need for bilingual education in the country.

The results of the present study shows that the Udas' use of Newar exclusively at home and with children is a major factor in retention. Among the Shresthas, it is rapidly losing ground to Nepali. Newar then is gradually dying away among the Shrestha, and will continually do so in the absence of institutional support.
Dissertation Abstracts International Vol., 51, no. 8, February 1991, p. 2730-A HRB XI:1-3,1991

Owens, Bruce McCoy
The Politics of Divinity in the Kathmandu Valley: the festivals of Bungadya/Rato Matsyendranath. Ph.D. Columbia University, 1989. 427pp. (Order Number DA9020587)

The annual festival of Bungadya/Rato Matsyendranath in the Kathmandu valley of Nepal brings together thousands of devotees of different castes, faiths, ethnicities, and localities in honoring one of Nepal's most important deities. This dissertation use this festival as a vantage point from which to study Newar culture and society. Ethnography confined to specific locales within the Kathmandu valley has revealed the Newar to be a remarkably diverse people with respect to religious beliefs, caste structures, and almost every other dimension of social life. This study examines the variety of beliefs and practices which

concern Bungadya; in order to document the complex ritual cycle honoring this popular god, and to discern fundamental features of Newar religious belief and practice.

Three areas of broad theoretical concern are central to thesis. The first concerns the problem of acknowledging diverse beliefs within a stratified society while accurately describing a "belief system" which its various members share. The concept of syncretism is critically reviewed here, as is the distinction between "great" and "folk" traditions.

The second theoretical issue concerns the politics of sacrifice. Numerous blood sacrifices, officiated over by Buddhist priests, are offered as integral elements of festivities honoring a god whom many Buddhist revere as benevolent Bodhisattva. The importance of sacrifice in Newar Buddhism ritual is demonstrated in this Mahayan Buddhist orthodoxy.

Thirdly, the relationship between king, subjects, and gods revealed in beliefs and practices associated with Bungadya and other deities call into question Domination theories of caste and Hindu kingdom. The dissociation between divine status and secular power postulated by Dumont is contradicted by evidence present here.

These interrelated issues are central to the politics of divinity in the Kathmandu valley. This examination of the roles gods play in peoples' lives and how the nature of peoples' lives shape their beliefs about the god they honor, suggest that Bungadya is not uniquely multivalent. The coexistence of conflicting interpretations within the society, animated by differing access to power, is to be anticipated rather than ignored.

Dissertation Abstracts International Vol., 51, no. 3, February 1990, p. 911-A

Parish, Stevan M.

Hierarchy and Person in the Moral World of the Newar(Nepal) University of California, San Diego, 1987. 547 pp.

This dissertation is about the moral system of the Newars of Nepal. It examines the cultural organization of moral life in Newar society by treating selected moral themes--hierarchy and equality, responsibility and identity--in terms of the Newar family, the caste system, selected life cycle rites, and three overlapping sets of moral concepts.

Newars express ambivalence about hierarchy; they do not see hierarchy or equality as an exclusive value for self and society. Rather, they shift from one to the other in discourse sequences; these shifts are interpretive and motivated Hierarchy and equality seem to "frame" each other in the Newar system, and informants are able to cognitively cancel out one other to recover the other in contextualizing scenario, stories or rhetoric. A close at taped interview transcript suggests how a dominant cultural ideology gets edited cognitively by motivated informants.

The dissertation describes an ethic of mutuality and interdependence, an emphasis on the values of corporate life, and pervasive anxiety about social opinion; but there is tension as well, as is evident in accounts of family disputes and their mediation. Although inter- dependence is salient as a norm, individuation and self interested behavior is present and recognized.

Collectively, Newar moral concepts organize or configure the expression of fundamental attitudes towards the possibilities of moral life: they give rise to an expectation that people are accountable to a fundamentally just universe, deities, and ideally to a human community that is an objectification of the moral; they also establish the idea that persons are potentially, but not innately, responsible actors capable of knowing what is moral, and capable of experiencing shame and remorse.

For Newars, psychological development alone does not result in a moral person ; persons must be shaped by others and confirmed in life- cycle rituals. Informants accounts suggest the role of these rites in structuring understandings concerning hierarchy, shame, sexuality, identity, and moral behavior. These rites display and coordinate m any of the themes and concepts of the Newar moral system an can be seen as introducing them, in canonical forms, to the reflexive awareness of the individual. Dissertation Abstracts international Vol. 49 No. 02A (HRB IX(3) pp.29)

Lowdin, Per Olou
Food, Ritual and Society: A Study of Social Structure and Food
Uppsala Universitet, 1986. pp.176

The study explores the relationship between food, ritual and social organization among the Newars of the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal. The unit of analysis is the significance of food: i) in terms of significations and ii) contextually, in the interaction among various social categories. The study concluded that food and the customs immediately connected to it express various social relationships: e.g., hierarchy according to caste and seniority, patrilineal cohesion and solidarity, kinship, and affiliation to the local cults. Through the prescribed participation in certain feasts the individual's social position and identity within his own group and in relation to other groups of a similar order are expressed. While certain persons are prescribed to attend, others are proscribed from participating. It is also established that certain foods a have clear cut meanings in some contexts: signifying, for example, contraction of marriage, the gender of a new born child, or a wish for purity.

Previously unpublished data from Newar culture is presented, particularly with reference to the Jyapu and Uray castes. This data has been collected during 14 months of field work among the Newars. (HRB VII:2/3)

Khatry, Prem Kumar
Childrearing and Socialization among the Newar of Dolakha and Bungamati: A Study on the Impact of Cultural Change and Continuity. Ph.D. University of California, Riverside, (1986) PP 283. (Order Number: DA9623043).

This dissertation describes and analyzes the prevailing methods of child rearing and socialization in two rural/semirural Newar communities of Nepal. Field research was carried out in two small Newar towns with a view to compare rearing and socialization methods. The sample consisted of 31 house- holds each with a total of 147 children under ten years of age.

Newar children grow up in a familial, social context characterized by closed rigid family and community organization. Child care is provided by members of the family and the community of relatives such as the maternal family of the child. The community of priests, elders and relatives enters the child's life at several stages of growth when various growth rituals are performed. Especially the late childhood rituals upgrade the male child into the world of adults; for the female child the growth rituals initiate her into the world of females and emphasize the culturally established feminine duties to be carried out as a married woman.

As the child enters late childhood, the external domain begins to play an important socialization role. The school, mass-media, and peer groups provide a different context for the growing Newar child. But the family and community mediate the influence of the external domain well into the stage of adolescence. By age ten, Newar children of Dolakha and Bungamati begin to acquire societal norms, cultural standards and behavioral skills.

The socio-cultural history of the Newar is a history of assimilation, continuity and change. Despite several external invasions and the flow of immigrants, the hierarchical Newar social structure has not gone through significant changes. Similarly, family role and relationships, and the life cycle, as well as numerous religious rituals have survived through time. Collectively, they provide a strong base for the Newar world view and lifestyle as well as guidance for future. Newar childrearing patterns in these old traditional settings are now changing gradually as external agents of socialization have begun to share child care and training responsibilities with the family and the community, but the basic integrative features of the society have only adjusted to changes occurring at the national level. (Abstract shortened with permission of author)
(HRB VII:1)

Iltis, Linda Louise
The Swasthani Vrata: Newar Woman and ritual in Nepal, Ph.D. The University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1985 pp. 1023 (Order Number DA 8528426).

Swasthani, the goddess of Own Place, is popularly worshiped by women and families in Nepal. Worship of Swasthani centers on a month-long ritual recitation of the Swathani Vrata Katha , a book of stories concerning her various emanations, the oldest manuscripts of which appear in Nepal Bhasha, or Newari. This thesis is an investigation of primary textual and ritual tradition with the Asta Matrika, or eight protective goddesses, who are a part of the oldest stratum of Newar religious belief, and the foundations of ritual space complexes of the Newar Civilization which developed among the indigenous inhabitants of Kathmandu Valley.

Whether reading the Swasthani stories or observing the roles of woman participating in the Swasthani ritual, one is struck by the independent, initiatory, positive, and integrative image the woman represent. Investigation of the roles of woman in both the ideological/ textual and behavioral/ ritual levels of the Swasthani tradition allows derivation of new models of female participation in Newar society which have not previously been shown either by traditional male centered approaches or by woman's studies approaches utilizing more quantitative, culturally less value centered means of investigation. It suggests a possible new approach to questions of women's (and men's) status and roles. From the stand point of Nepal and comparative religious studies. It provides a translation of a major religious narratives of Nepal, from Newari, and a description and analysis of a religious traditions which Nepalese Hindus and Buddhists themselves consider to be demonstrably linked on various levels with some of the oldest and most influential elements of Newar religious and cultural traditions. (HRB VI:3)

Tuladhar, Jyoti
Constituency and.Negation in Newari, Ph.D. George Town University, (1985) pp. 373 (Order Number DA8613952)

The phrase structure of Newari, a Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal, has not been fully specified within a modern syntactic frame work. Such a description is prerequisite to an understanding of the syntax and the scope of negation in Newari. This dissertation first determines the constituent structures of Newari within the non-transformational X-bar theory of Residential Grammar(Binkert 1984) and then analyzes the syntax and scope of negation on this basis.

Part One concentrates on the description of Newari. It consists of three chapters: an introduction specifying the objective and focus of the study in Chapter one; a brief descriptions of the fundamental characteristics of Newari in chapter two; and an analysis of the phrase structure and analysis of the language within the RG framework in Chapter Three. Different levels of the phrasal hierarchy are established, and the internal structures of the Noun Phrase and the Verb Complex are analyzed.

Part two focuses on the syntax and scope of negation. Chapter Four summarizes earlier debates on negation in English. In Chapter five, two negative formation pattern are identified for Newari: sentential/constituent negation (mal), and lexical negation (mall). Two filters express all relevant constraints on mal.

In Chapter Six, the constituents which fall within the narrow scope of negation, i.e. elements unambiguously understood as negated in a non-contextual situation, are distinguished from those constituents which may fall within the wide scope, i.e., elements which speakers elect to focus as negated. Both kinds of scope are explained in terms of "command" and "binding" relations of Residential Grammar.

Chapter Seven presents a summary of the major findings of this study and extends a number of generalizations on the interrelation of grammatical processes and semantic interpretation on negation in Newari. (HRB VII:1)

Lewis, Todd Thorton
The Tuladhars of Kathmandu: A Study of Buddhist Tradition in Newar Merchant Community,
Ph.D. Columbia University, 1984, pp 658 (Order Number DA8506008)

This is an ethnographic study of the Tuladhars, Newar merchants of Ason Tol, Kathmandu, and an analysis of Buddhist tradition in their community. Its basic endeavor is to describe the complex configuration of Buddhist observance in Kathmandu, analyze Newar religious tradition in historical perspectives, and explore the impact of modern change in this cultural context. This dissertation follows in the scholarly lineages of historical anthropology as defined by Evans- Pritchard, the study of traditions by Edward Shils, and the anthropology of Buddhist societies as articulated by S. J. Tambiah.

In the ethnographic treatment consisting Part I, the religious geography of the Kathmandu valley is described, from the furthest limits of pilgrimage down to the topography of town, neighborhood, and house. A portrait of the social setting in Ason Tol and the social organization of Tuladhar caste is then drawn to define the bazaar community in which the research was conducted. Special attention is then devoted to Buddhist ritual traditions: daily ritual cycles, rites performed by Vajracharya priests, meditations and initiation, bratas, and the life cycle rites. A description of the yearly festivals completes the ethnographic documentation.

Part II describes the distinctive characteristics of "Baha Buddhism." a term used to describe the unique organization of Newar Buddhism that culminated in the later Malla Dynasty(1500-1769). Baha Buddhism survives to the present day in fractured form, although its traditions still provide the central framework for contemporary Tuladhar observance. In this analysis, close attention is paid to the organization of Newar vihars, patterns of exchange and hierarchy between Vajracharya and the lay community, and the specific content of this distinctive Mahayana-Vajrayana Buddhist tradition. In this section, the nature of Hindu- Buddhist relations in Newar society is also delineated.

The dissertation ends in Part III with a treatment of socio-cultural change in the modern period. To define the full religious context of "Kathmandu Valley Buddhism, the role of Tibetan and Theravada" traditions and their impact on Tuladhar practice and belief are examined. Finally, there is a discussion of the effects of modern change in political rule, economics, media, and competing ideologies as they have effected the organization of Baha Buddhism and the religious orientation of individual Tuladhars. (HRB VI:2)

Shakya, Daya R
University Of Oregon
Nominal and Verbal Morphology in Six Dialects of the Newar Language, Masters' Thesis (1992)

This thesis describes the phonological inventory and correspondence sets of each phoneme in the Kathmandu/Patan, Pyangaõ, Bhaktapur, Bandipur, Dolakha and Badikhel (Pahari) dialects along with nominal and verbal morphology. The nominal morphology includes number, gender, case markers, pronouns, numerals classifiers, and adjectives. The verbal morphology includes finite and non finite inflections of verbs causatives, copulas, and negation. In terms of morphology, the dialects in this thesis can be divided into two groups: one with the conjunct/disjunct system, and the other with subject/verb agreement. The Kathmandu/ Patan, Pyangaõ, Bhaktapur Bandipur dialects show the conjunct/disjunct system, where as the Dolakha and Badikhel (Pahari) show Subject/ Verb Agreement system. Although Dolakha and Badikhel (Pahari dialects manifest the same type of system, the inflectional morphology is not cognate.

The abstracts of the following doctoral dissertations are not available now:

Hargreaves, David (1991)The Concept of Intentional Action in the Grammar of Kathmandu Newari. Doctoral Dissertation. University of Oregon, USA.

Joshi, Sundar Krishna(1984) A Description of Bhaktapur Newari. Doctoral Dissertation. University of Poona, India.

Kansakar, Tej R.(1979).A Generative Phonology of Kathmandu Newari. , Doctoral Dissertation, Tribhuvan University., Nepal.

Shakya, Chandra Devi (1980) Semantics of Newari. Doctoral Dissertation. Deccan College, University of Poona, India.

Shrestha, Rudra Luxmi, (1995) A Descriptive Study of the Dolakha Dialect of Newari. Ph.D. Dissertation, Tribhuvan University, Nepal.

Sthapit, Shishir K.(1978) English, Nepali and Newari: A Comparison and its Pedagogic applications. Doctoral Dissertation, Poona University, India.

Dissertations in Nepal Bhasha

Vajracharya, Chunda(1992) *Nepal Bhashayaa Adhunik NaaTak-yaa Prabiti wa Prawaaha,* (Analysis of Feature and trend of Modern drama in Nepal Bhasha), Ph.D.Dissertation, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu.

Vaidya, Janak Lal (1986) *Nepal Bhasha Kaavya Srijanaatmak Pravriti* (Creatives Trends in the classical Nepal Bhasha poetry) Ph.D.Dissertation, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu.

* *

Jagat Sundar Bwone Kuthi

Chagal, Chhauni
Kathmandu
Nepal

If you happen to be in Kathmandu, please visit the ***Jagat Sundar Bwone Kuthi,*** the first and only Nepal Bhasha medium primary school that was established in 1990 in Nepal.

The school needs your support in producing a new generation of children to prove that not only Newar language but also any language can be a medium of instruction in Nepal.

Questions and Answers

To emphasize the studies on Newars, we have asked following three questions to Newar study scholars, the responses we have received so far are given below.

1. How did you learn about Newars as the possible field of study for your research ?
2. What distinctive feature did you find in Newars from your research ?
3. What are the areas not yet covered in the Newar studies ?

David Gellner, Ph. D
Brunel University
United Kingdom

1. I came to the Newars through an interest in Nepal and an interest in Buddhism. I had visited Nepal to do trekking in 1976 before going up to study as an undergraduate in Oxford University. In 1979 I began an M. Phil in Indian Religion under Professor Richard Gombrich, Professor of Sanskrit and a world authority on Pali and Theravada Buddhism. Professor gombrich planned to attend a world Buddhist conference in Nalanda in(I think) April 1980 and I suggested to him the Name Dor Bahadur Bista. Dor Bahadur Introdued him to Father John Locke who took him on a walking tour of Lalitpur (Patan, Yala). On his return to Oxford, Profesor Gombrich suggested to me that I should do my D.Phil (PhD) on Newar Buddhism. Since I wanted to study religion in South Asia, and sicne little had been done on Mahayan Buddhism in Nepal, and since it involved returning to Nepal, a country that I already knew and loved, this was a suggesstion that I did not have to think about twice. I eventually set to do two years of fieldwork among the Newars of Lalitpur, especially focussing on the Sanghas to do the same kind of locally informed anthropological study as Professor Gombrich himself had done in Sri Lanka(See his 'Precept and Practice: Traditional Buddhism in the Rural Highlands of Ceylon' OUP, 1991; reissued 1991 as 'Buddhist Precept and Practice' by Mòtila Banarasidas in Delhi).

2. Clearly I set out to examine the Newars as Buddhists and because they are the last surviving representatives of the ancient Mahayana Buddhism of north India. This is a line of research inaugurated by the great Sylvain Levi with his much -quated aphorism that 'Nepal is India in making'. What is less often appreciated is that aspects of the Tantric HINDU culture of the Newars is also very archaic and equally worthy of study from the same point of view. Newar music art and archi tecture have all been studied as examples of an ancient culture which has died out in the rest of north India. The particular way in which Hinduism and Buddhism co-exist among the Newars and give rise to a "Double headed" social heirachy is an important distinguishing feature of Newar Culture. The high level to which art, architecture, and crafts reached in the premordern period was clearly unsurpassed elsewhere in the Himalayas, except in Kashmir in the Pre-Muslim period. In other respects, however, the Newars are no more different or unsual than any other local cultural group within South Asia.

3. The study of esoteric Hindu traditions within the Newars deserves equal attention to the Buddhist, but is far less likely to be pursued for various reasons. Ritual traditions of all kinds, because of their complexity and the detailed historical background which can derived from manuscript colllections, deserve to be studied. The position of women among the Newars is still a controversial question, and Newar Society still awaits an ethnography of woman of the calibre of Lynn Bennett's Dangerous Wives and Sacred Sisters; it is consistent with this that a sensitive ethnography of the domestic sphere has yet to be written. For predictable reason's much remains to be done on 'lower' caste of Newar society. Social change today is so rapid that an ethnographer today has to confront issues of massive cultural change: the very different worlds in which today's teenagers in the valley inhabit from that of their parents and grandparents. No doubt excellent studies of this, as well as other forms of changing identity, will appear in due course.

Declan Quiglay, Ph. D
Department of Social Anthropology
The Queen's University of Belfast
United Kingdom

1. I learned about the Newars while doing earlier research for master's degree on the Gurungs of Nepal. It struck me at that time(1979) that while many westerners were looking at highland groups in Nepal, very few were examining the complex urban society of the Kathmandu Valley.

2. I have listed the most distinctive features of the Newars on page 299-300 of the book I jointly edited with David Gellner(1995), Contested Hierarchies. A Collaborative Ethnography of Caste among the Newars of the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal, Oxford Press.

3. Areas not yet covered: It would be useful to have a major sociological monograph on daily life written by a woman. Men simply do not have the same access to Newar woman's perspectives that a female scholar would have.

David Gellner, Ph. D
Brunel University
United Kingdom

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predictable reason's much remains to be done on 'lower' caste of Newar society. Social change today is so rapid that an ethnographer today has to confront issues of massive cultural change: the very different worlds in which today's teenagers in the valley inhabit from that of their parents and grandparents. No doubt excellent studies of this, as well as other forms of changing identity, will appear in due course.

David Hargreaves, Ph. D
English Department
California State University, Chico

1) I first learned about the Newar language through a field-methods course at the University of Oregon. It was there that I first met Mr. Harsha Dhaubadel and Mr. Narayan Joshi, who introduced me to Newar language and culture.

2) I am especially interested in Newar discourse and oral traditions, especially the poetic and expressive uses of the Newar language in everyday speech as well as folktales and poetry. I am also interested in the complex and fascinating history of the Newar language.

3) From my perspective, the most important and understudied area of Newar linguistics is the sociolinguistic dimensions, especially in relation to the problem of how the Newar and Nepali languages are used by Newars and how the Newar language traditions can be maintained in spite of the economic and cultural pressures to speak Nepali and English. Dr. Uma Shrestha's work is a very valuable contribution to this crucial area of Newar Studies.

Dr. Austin Hale
Switzerland.

1. For me this took place upon my arrival in Kathmandu in 1968, in connection with research sponsored by Tribhuvan University. It started, if I remember correctly, when I attended a class taught by Khadga Man Malla. Boyd Michailovsky also attended a few sessions.

2. My main interest has been in the language, specifically the Kathmandu dialect.

3. Though Newari is perhaps better described than most Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal we still need a dictionary for English speakers that adequately covers the vocabulary used in the published literature, and a grammar for English speakers that adequately covers the full range of grammatical constructions found in this published corpus.

Prof. Todd T. Lewis
College of Holy Cross, USA.

1. I learned about Newars when I began to think about my doctoral fieldwork on Buddhism and society. My mentor, Theodore Riccardi, said that if I wanted to study the most unexplored Buddhist community in the world, then I should plan on going to the Kathmandu Valley and studying Newar Buddhism.

2. Newar Mahayana-Vajrayana Buddhism has been at a crossroads for several decades, with strong sentiments to follow the old ways, conform to the wishes of the elders, and remain turned inward. Others, typically younger, are trying to adapt the traditions to the changing world, respecting the essentails from the past, but not being chained to it, and not pretending as if the world outside the KAthmandu Valley and

Newar society, is irrelevant to understanding Buddha dharma. Another aspect distinctive of Newar Buddhism is the common disinterest in doctrine and intellectual understanding, with greater emphasis on ritual. The deep spiritual faith in the spiritual reality of the triratna and loyalty to the Buddhas and bodhisattvas of the Kathmandu Valley is quite moving.

3. Newar studies have so many lacunae. The lack of serious and sustained archaeological research in the Kathmandu Valley keeps everyone ignorant about the Kathmandu Valley's ancient history. So many ritual traditions need careful documentation. Some sustained opinion research would clarify the position of the generations and generate some kind of consensus for the community. Village/community studies across the Valley outside the major cities would be important; histories of extra-Valley settlements across the mid-hills would add important information on the half of Newars living outside the Valley. Studies of Tibetan namtars would add critical information about the nature of Valley religious history over the last millenium.

We have also collected some observations from family members by asking the following two questions.

1. How did you learn about Newars of Nepal ?
2. What distinctive feature did you find in Newars that encourged you to choose your life partner ?

Mary-Jo O'Rourke
Australia

1. I first visited Nepal in 1988, as a tourist. I made some Nepali friends, including Newars. I returned to Nepal in 1989 and met my husband, Bimal Man Shrestha, who was working in the Thamel area of Kathmandu; we married soon afterwards. He is a Newar, from "old" (central) Kathmandu, and so through meeting his family and friends, and getting to know them over the next few years, I have become very interested in the fascinating Newar culture and language. We live in Melbourne, Australia, where there are very few Newars, but visit Nepal every year, and try to maintain very close contact with our family and friends, and with my husband's culture. As we are now having our first child, this contact with family and culture in Nepal will become even more important to our family.

2. The Newar culture is very ancient, having existed, as far as I have been able to discover, for the past 2000 years or more. It is a very particular and unique culture, with its own specific customs, rituals and practices, and its own language in several distinct varieties. Newars are generally very proud of their cultural heritage, and traditional practices are still followed even by the younger generation, which shows that this ancient culture is still strongly alive today. Traditional festivals are still practised widely. There are Nepal Bhasa newspapers, radio and television programs and films, and an active academic and scholarly community. The Mha Puja Candle walk and the wonderful Newar Food Festival are held annually, and *Guthi*s remain extremely active and important in the Newar community. Newars are famed for their hospitality, and I must say that from my own experience, as an outsider gradually becoming a part of the community, I have had extremely positive reactions from my husband's family and Newars generally, who have encouraged me to learn about the language and culture, and opened their homes and hearts to teach me many valuable things. I am very happy to see that pride in one's own culture can co-exist with tolerance of another's culture and values, however different. One area of concern to some of my Newar friends and colleagues is the increasing decline in the passing on of the Nepal Bhasa language to children, many of whom these days have Nepali as their first language instead. It would be well worth investigating to what extent this is true, and what could be done about it. The Nepal Bhasa-medium primary school in Kathmandu is a good example of what might be achieved towards keeping the language, a vital component of the culture, alive. I hope that my family and I will be able to provide my own children with the opportunity to learn their father's mother tongue, as well as their mother's (English).

We would like to hear from all the people who have family ties with Newars. Please send your response to those questions to the editor. Your observation will bring awareness on new generation of Newars. Responses will be included in the next issues.

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E- mail : drasha @aol.com

* *

Nepal Study Program
Portland, Oregon

Chãgu Chhé Gana
छंगु छें गन ?

Chãgu nãã chhu
छंगु नां छु ?

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"थः नेवाः जुयागुया गौरव तायेका दिसँ
थः मस्तयत मां-भासं आखः ब्वंका दिसँ"

Highlights on Newar Activities

Nepal Bhasha Academy

Mahabaudha, Kathmandu
Nepal

On Janaury 18, 1992, Nepal Bhasha Parishad organized a symposium of distinguished scholars, intelectuals and writers of Nepal Bhasha (Newar) to discuss a long felt need for an authoritative academic institution which will academically work towards the preservation and promotion of Nepal Bhasha language literature and the rich Newar Cultural heritage. The participants in the symposium unanimously endorsed the idea of an academy, and an adhoc committee was formed to draft a constitition and devised a feasible framework of operation.

On September 5th, 1992 , the constitution was formally approved and adopted in a meeting of the Adhoc Committee, and an ACADEMIC COUNCIL with a maximum of 75 members, was formed.

The Nepal Bhasha Academy has thus been established as a self governing corporate body. The organizational structure and the objectives are as outlined below:

Functions and Objectives:
As mandated by its constitution, the Nepal Bhasha Academy performs the followings principal functions:

* Preserves and promotes study and research in the fields of Nepal Bhasha languages, literature and culture.
* Establishes links with various communities and nationalities speaking different languges in the national and international arena, and promotes cultural exchange and dissemination of information.
* Translates into different languges works of Nepal Bhasha language and literature and publishes them in order to popularized in thè international arena, and also Newar languages in order to enrich it.
* Fosters a sprit of mutual co-operation among different individuals and groups working in the fields of Nepal Bhasha language literature and culture.
* Offers due recognition and honor to both national and international scholars, and creative writiers who have made significant contributions in various fields of Nepal Bhasha .
* Nurtures and encourages talents hidden in the Newar society.
* Provides scholarships and grants for creatives and research based projects on Nepal Bhasha literature, language and Newar Culture.
* Encourages publication of research works of outstanding merits.

Organizational Structure:
Nepal bhasha Academy will be a self sustained and independent organization, comprising of two separate componants:

* Academic Council
* Executives Committee

Membership:
* Membership is open to all Nepali nationals who have made substantial contributions in the field of Nepal Bhasha language, literature and culture through the medium of Nepal Bhasha.
* All Membership applications have to be formally approved by the Academic council.
* Honorary membership will be conferred on all national and international scholors whco have made substantial contributions to Nepal Bhasha Language, literature and culture.
* The Academic Council will consists of maximum number of seventy five members, which will not include those extra members whoc have been co operated to function in the Executive Committee.

(-Dabuu 1993)

The First Newah National Conference
&
The Newah De Dabuu

(Based on Biswa Bhumi Daily Sept. 1, 1995)

The Newah National Conference was the first time in the history of Nepal that Newars from home and aboard have gathered and discussed issues of importance to them. This article is based on several scholars' concern, suggestion, solution and other aspects of conference.

It is being said that the victory over the Mount Everest is not an important news these days unless a climber is on bare foot. However, when Tenzing Norgey Sherpa reached the Summit in 1953; was a significant event.

Similarly, the National Newah Conference which commences today (Sept. 1, 1995) is like a beginning of conquoring the Everest. We have to consider it as the Sherpa people's victory for the sake of future. The Newah conference itself is a historical and significant event for Newars. Eventhough the out come of the conference is still unknown. SApeaking in the conference Dr. K.P. Malla said that a well formed organization is the most influencial power in a democratic country. It is useless to work without the strength of an organization. This conference is to establish a national level organization of Newah Jaati, and it is not just in the realm of language recognization. The Newars are scattered all over Nepal and also abroad. The language which ties them together is slowly declining. Therefore, it is necessary to bring them together and join them in a new form. The Newars lack an organization to do so.

In the same occasion Mr. Padma Ratna Tuladhar, the President of the Nepal Bhasha Manka *Khalah* and the Member of Parliament, made comment that now-a-days the interactiona and interrelation among the Newars who are scattered all over the country have been restrained. He said "We even do not know what we should do about our public heritage For example, it is said that theRadio Nepal have made a broadcast news in Sanskrit, but we do not know what should we do about it? In Kathmandu, there have been some protest about it. But the Newars from outside the valley, did not show any kind of reaction to it. Now, if we have a national level organization we can at least send a circular on such cases all over the country, and hear reaction. The collective reaction from all over the country certainly becomes influential. This situation illustrates that why it is necessary to have an organization of Newars. We do not appear to know our right to equal status in language. An organization might be able to disseminate the knowledge publicly. For these reason, the conference attempts to establish an organization."

In addition, Mr. Dhuswan Sayami, a novelist, expressed his doubtfulness about the conference. He said " We are asking what is the advantage of the conference. It does not mean that our aims will success just with the conference itself. Most Newars have a bad habit that they don't consider themselves Newars unless they have to be. They don't want to devlop a Newarness feeling. A person is a Newar when he/she speaks on a stage but not when he/she decends from the stage. If we are going to wipe out these characteristics then this conference certainly be a great advangtage."

Moreover, Mr. Bhakti Das Shrestha, the President of the conference organizing committee, said that there is no place to comment on the communal (Sampradayik) ideology at all. Let's keep in mind that the predecessors have been developed arts, culture, customs, temples, bulidings, languages, characters etc. from generation to generations. This conference is aiming a way that Newah material and cultural heritage can be disseminated and can be used not only by Newars but also by all Nepalese and even more be enjoyed by the whole world. May the consciousness of Newar -ness be developed among the Newars. We have the Newah values within us. So that, other people can enjoy our values. It is with such a compassionate mind that we are able to organize this conference."

The twodays conference was attended by Newars all over the country and from Bhutan and India and was succeeded in establishing a nationwide(De) organization named " Newah De Dabuu", the National

Forum for Newars, consisting of 45 members in central committee, and following 13 members in the executive body.

President:	Mr. Bhakti Das Shrestha,
Vice- Presidents & Regional Representatives :	
Eastern:	Mr. Luxman Bahadur Haluwai
Central:	Mrs. Satya Bhama Mathema
Western:	Mr. Prakash man Palikhe
Mid-western:	Mr. Madan Bhakta Shrestha
Far-Western:	Mr. Prayag Raj Joshi
General Secretary:	Dr. Keshab man Shakya
Joint Secretary:	Mr. Naresh Bir Shakya
Treasurer:	Mr. Luxmi Dhar Manandhar
Members:	Dr. Kamal Prakash Malla
	Mr. Satya Mohan Joshi
	Mr. Luxman Rajbansi
	Mr. Padma Ratna Tuladhar

In view of success of forming the national forum for Newars, the Biswa Bhumi daily also mentioned that it was a great effort for Newars. The future of Newars depends upon how this organization works for the recognition of Newah cultural heritage and their identity.
(From Anil Man Shakya, Brunel University, UK)

Nepalese Folklore Society

C/o Satya Mohan Joshi
11/48 Bakum Bahal
Lalitpur, Nepal

In 1982 a group of students studying Nepal Bhasha at the post graduate class at the Patan MultiPle Campus decided to form a society to promote the study of folklore, in which they were highly inspired and influenced by their teacher, Mr. Satya Mohan Joshi, a well known scholar and floklorist and a former member of the Royal Nepal Academy, who won the Madan Puruskar, the most coveted award, in the Nepaelese folk culture. The Nepalese Folklore Society was founded in june 1984 with the Following Objectives:

1. To collect, record, study and publish the folklore of the different ethnic groups of Nepal
2. To establish links with folklore societies and extend cooperation to other institutes and organizations with similar aims and objectives.
3. To undertake other activities related to folklore.
4. To promote friendship and cultural relationship between peoples and nations.

The Nepalese Folklore Society has honoured Mr. Satya Mohan Joshi as its chief founder in appreciation of his every possible guidence and visualization of having one folklore society in Nepal for undertaking studies and research works on Nepalese folklore.

The eminent floklorist, donors, and well wishers of the society are its patrons. Memberships of the society is open to all scholars interest in Nepalese folklore. Please contact Mr. Joshi for details in above address.

Literary Nepal Bhasha Journals published by various Educational Institutions and Social Organizations

Journals		Publishers
Manda	'Mandala'	Pulchok Campus, KTM
Sanjhya	'Traditional Window'	Public Youth campus,KTM
Kulan	'Corner' Horizon	Patan Multiple Campus
Jah	'Light'	Tri Chandra Campus,KTM
Naaye Khin	'A drum'	People's Campus, KTM
Gwae swan	'Flower Name'	Tahachal Campus, KTM
Chakanaa	'Bright Ness'	Sankar Dev Campus, KTM
Swanigah	'Kathmandu Valley'	Nepal Commerce Campus, KTM
Nibhaah	'Sun Light'	Amrit Science Campus, KTM
Niilah	'Holy Water'	Sano Thimi Campus, Bhaktpur
Sutha	'Dawn'	Bhaktapur Campus, Bhaktapur
Aagan	'Secret Shrine'	Thapathali Campus, KTM
Twalan	'A Door Part'	Ratna Jyoti Campus,KTM
Gan	'Bell'	Kirtipur Campus, KTM
Sah	'Voice'	Kabhre Campus, Banepa
A:mu	'?'	Nepal Law Campus, KTM
Antar Kyaampas	'Inter- Campus'	Inter-Campus N.B.Sahitya Pala, KTM
Nepal Bhasa Patrika		Daily News Paper (Private Pub), KTM
Biswabhumi	'world'	Daily News Paper (PP), KTM
Raja Mati	'Name of Folk Song'	Weekly News Paper(PP), KTM
Sandhya Times	'Evening Times'	Daily News Paper (PP), KTM
Inap	'Request', Appeal	Weekly News Paper(PP), KTM
Situ	'Grass name'	Cwohsaa Paasaa Literary Orga.,KTM
Nepal	'Nepal'	Nepal Bhasha Parishad (LO),KTM
Khelu Itaah	'Holy Wick'	New Your Publication, Patan
Jhii	'WE'	Jhii Publication, KTM
Dharmodaya	'Rise of Religion'	Dharmodaya Sabha, Kalimpong, India
Jwaalaa Nhaaykã	'Glassless Mirror'	New Year Publication,KTM
Aananda Bhumi	'Land Of Pleasure' Peace	Ananda Kuti Vihar Guthi, KTM
Dharmakirti	'Religious Deed'	Dharmakirti Maha Vihar, KTM
Labu	'Path'	Labu Publication Patan Patan
Nhasalaa	'Lightning'	Nhasalaa Publication, KTM
Nasanchaa	'Early Morning'	Nasanchaa Publication,KTM
Laskus	'Wecome'	New Year Publication Patan
Shanti Vijaya	'Victory over Peace'	Buddha Jayanti Publication,Patan
Tika Jhyaa	'Traditional Window'	Tika Jhyaa Publication, KTM
Dabuu	'Stage or Forum'	Nepaa Paasaa Puchah, America
Newaa Vijñaana	'Newar Science'	Intl. Nepal Bhasa Seva Samiti, USA
Paleswãã	'Lotus'	Lotus Research Center. Patan
Paasukaa	'Holy Thread'	Suthan publication, Bhaktapur.
Paubhaah	'Thanka Painting'	Lipi Guthi, Kathmandu

These publications support to preserve the Newar heritage for the new generation to come. Spending a dollar for these journals makes a big difference in the future.

नेपाल भाषाका भाषिका परिच्चय[1]

(ध्वनितात्त्विक विशेषताको सन्दर्भमा)

दयारत्न शाक्य
पोर्टलैण्ड, सं.रा.अ.

पृष्ठभूमि

नेपालका अनेकौं भाषाहरुको दुर्दसा देख्दा कसलाई मात्र मन न दुख्ला ? कुनै समयमा नेपाली भाषालाई मात्र बढी जोड दिएकोले आज नेपालका कयौ भाषाहरु मरणासन्न अवस्थामा पुगिसकेका छन् । यो नेपाली जाति कै निम्ती ठूलो क्षतिको कुरा हो । संसारका जुनसुकै देशमा पनि भाषाको समस्या नभएको होइन तर नेपालमा जस्तो लापरवही अन्य कुनै मुलुकमा प्रायः नै भयो होला । आज बिसौं शताब्दीको अन्त्यतिर पनि भाषा अध्ययनको निम्ती हुनु पर्ने काम हुन नपाएकोमा दुख लाग्नु अस्वाभाविक होइन । समयको फेरोमा कुर्सी ओगटन पुगेकाहरु पनि भाषा समस्यालाई हाई काढे जस्तो गरि दिएकोले भाषा समस्यामा कुनै ठोस पाइला चालिदिएको देखिन्दैन । नेपाल भाषा विज्ञान समाज र हालै त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालय अन्तर्गत स्थापित भाषा बिज्ञान विभागबाट नेपालका भाषाहरुको यथोचित अध्ययन अध्यापन नियमित रुपमा हुंदै जाने छ भन्ने आशा लिन सकिन्छ ।

यसै सिलसिलामा ध्यानाकर्षणको निम्ती यस लेखमा नेपालका अनेकौं भाषाहरुमध्ये एक समृध्द तर पनि अपेक्षित अवस्थामा यथावत रहेको नेवारहरुको मातृभाषा 'नेपाल भाषा' का भाषिकाहरुबारे आफुले गरेको अध्ययन अनुसंधानको आधारमा फेला परेका बुंदाहरु समबिष्ट गर्ने चेष्टा गरिएको छ ।

विषय प्रवेश

यस 'नेपाल भाषा' बोलिने जन जाती हाल काठमाडौं उपत्यकामा मात्र सीमित नभएर अधिराज्यका ६९ जिल्लामा छरिएको तथ्य तथ्यांक बिभागद्वारा प्रकाशित तथ्यमा जनाइएको छ । नेपाल अधिराज्यको कूल जनसंख्या मध्ये ३.४ प्रतिशतले मात्र बोलिने यो भाषा नेपाली बाहेक अन्य भाषाहरुभन्दा निकै उन्नतिशिल रहेको र हालसम्म पनि यस भाषालाई दिलो ज्यान दिएर बिकासको पथमा लग्दै गरेकोमा यस भाषाका जातिको आफ्नो भाषा प्रतिको ममता निकै गहिरो रहेको कुरा पुष्टी हुन्छ । कुनै जातिले आफ्नो भाषा त्यागे जातित्व नै गुमाउनु पर्ने हुनाले यस भाषा नबोल्ने मानिसहरु उक्त भाषा बोल्नेहरुसंग हेलमेल हुन गाहारो भएको कुरा कतिपय सूचकहरुले यस पंक्तीका लेखकलाई महसुस गराएका छन् । यस्ता गुनासो केवल उपत्यका बाहिरभन्दा भित्र बढी रहेको पनि थाहा लाग्यो । यसबाट के पुष्टी हुन्छ भने स्वयम एउटै जातिका समाजभित्र पनि भाषा जान्ने र नजान्ने गरि दुई समुहःमा बिभाजित रहेको देखियो । पछि कुनै समय नजान्नेहरुको संख्या बढी हुन गएमा जान्नेहरु अल्पांसमा पर्न गई भाषा बिलिन हुन जाने प्राक्रितिक नियम रहेको हुनाले यस भाषाका सेवकहरु चिन्तित रहेको कुरा पनि थाहा हुन आएको छ । यस किसिमको चिन्ता नेपालका सबै जस्तो भाषा-भाषीहरुले व्यक्त गरेको देखियो । यस विषयमा सरकारी माध्यमबाट यथासिघ्र परियोजनाहरु चलाएर संरक्षण नगरेमा पछि पछुताउनु पर्ने कुराको ध्यानाकर्षण पनि गरिन्छ ।

[1] 1 *Nepanl Bhasha Bhasijakaa parichaya* ' An introduction to the Dialects of Nepal Bhasha : Daya Ratna Shakya

अध्ययन क्षेत्र

यस लेखनको मूल विषय क्षेत्र नेपाल अधिराज्यमा बसोबास गरेका अधिकांश क्षेत्रका नेपाल भाषा भाषीहरुलाई समाबिष्ट गरिएको छ । यसमध्ये उपत्यका बाहिर पूर्वमा चैनपुर, भोजपुर, दिङला, धनकुटा, धरान, रामेछाप, दोलखा, धुलिखेलका भाषा-भाषीहरु पर्छन् । पच्छिममा पोखरा, तानसेन, बुटवल, रिडी, नारायणघाट, गोर्खा, ड्रुम्रे , बन्दिपुर र चित्लाङका भाषा भाषीहरुलाई लिईएको छ । यस अध्ययन क्षेत्र भित्र पर्ने उपत्यकाभित्र रहेका वर परका गाउँहरुमा भक्तपुर, गोर्कण, टोखा, हल्चोक, पाङगा, बुङगमति, प्याङगाउँ, लुभु र बढीखेल (पहरी गाउँ)का भाषा भाषीहरु पर्छन् । यसरी २६ वटा गाउँ तथा बजारहरुमा गरिएको सर्बेक्षणको आधारमा संकलन गरिएको तथ्यको प्रयोग यस लेखनमा गरिएको छ । यस बाहेक काठमाडौं र पाटन शहरमा बोलिने अथवा लिखित नेपाल भाषालाई स्तरीय मापडण्डको रुपमा लिईएको छ ।

आथिक श्रोत

यस अध्ययन अनुसंधानको निम्ती पहिलो चरणको कार्य पुरा गर्न जर्मन रिसर्च काउन्सील बाट नेपाल अनुसंधान केन्द्र मार्फत र सं.रा.अमेरिकाको म्यासाचुसेट्स स्थित होली क्रस कलेजका प्रा.टड लुइसबाट र दोस्रो चरणको निम्ति संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिकाकै साइन्स फाउण्डेसनबाट ओरेगन विश्व विध्यालयको भाषाविज्ञान विभागमार्फत आर्थिक अनुदान प्राप्त भएको थियो । यी आर्थिक अनुदानहरु उपलब्ध गराईदिने हरुमा जर्मनका प्रा.बर्नहार्ड कोल्भर, डा. उलरिके कोलभर र संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिकाका प्रा. टड लुइस र प्रा. स्कट डेलान्सीहरु प्रति यस पंक्तिका लेखक आभारी प्रकट गर्दछ ।

तथ्य संकलन

अनुसंधानका अनेकौं बिधिहरुमध्ये यस अनुसंधानको निम्ति संकलन गरिएको तथ्य प्रमुख रुपमा भाषा विषय भएको हुनाले माथि उल्लिखित गाउँहरुमा गइ उक्त गाउँका भाषा-भाषीहरु संग लिईएको अर्न्तवार्ताको आधारमा शब्द, वाक्य र कथनको रेकर्ड गरी विश्लेषण गरिएको छ । यी मध्ये कतिपय तथ्यहरु समूहिक बार्तालाभ र एक व्यक्तिय स्वतन्त्र कथनको पनि प्रयोग गरिएको छ ।

पूर्वकार्यको विश्लेषण

नेपाल भाषाको भाषिका अध्ययनको क्रममा इन्द्र माली (१९७१, १९७४, १९७८, १९७९, १९८०) को नाउँ सर्ब प्रथम सम्झनु पर्ने देखिन्छ । वहां बाहेक अंग्रेजी भाषाशास्त्री जे. ए. ग्रिर्यशन (१९३२)को नाउँ पनि उल्लेखनीय छ । वहांहरुले कोरिदिएको अध्ययनको पूर्वाधारमा अन्य अनुसन्धाताहरु जस्तै रमापतिराज शर्मा (१९७२), पुर्ण काजी ताम्राकार (१९८१), काशीनाथ तमोट (१९८३, १९८५) , राजा शाक्य (१९८४, १९८९) , डा. सुन्दर कृष्ण जोशी (१९८४) , मोनतारो हासिमोतो (१९७७) दरशा नेवामि (१९८४, १९८५, १९८७, १९९१, १९९२, १९९३), रुद्र लक्ष्मी श्रेष्ठ (१९८७, १९८९, १९९५), प्रेम सायमी (१९८६) तुल्सीलाल सिं (१९८३, १९८५) र क्यारोल जेनेटी (१९८९, १९९०, १९९४) दयारत्न शाक्यको नाउँ उल्लेख गर्न सकिन्छ । वहांहरुले नेपालभाषाका भाषिका अध्ययनको क्रममा निम्नलिखित अध्ययन क्षेत्र समेटेको देखिन्छ :-

भक्तपुर :- रमापति राज शर्मा , काशी नाथ तमोट , डा. सुन्दर कृष्ण जोशी, दयारत्न शाक्य, र मोनतारो हासिमोतो

दोलखा :- इन्द्र माली, पुर्ण काजी ताम्राकार, राजा शाक्य, रुद्र लक्ष्मी श्रेष्ट, प्रेम सायमी र डा.क्यारोल जेनेटी

पहरी :- इन्द्र माली, जे. ए. ग्रिर्यशन, दया रत्न शाक्य

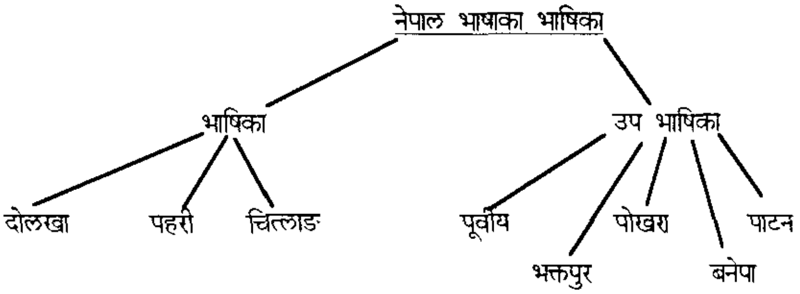
प्याङगाउँ:-काशिनाथ तमोट, तुल्सिलाल सिं र दरशा नेवामि

बन्दिपुरः- दरशा नेवामि

रिडी :- दरशा नेवामि

दांछी:- राजा शाक्य

हालसम्म गरिएको अध्ययनको आधारमा भक्तपुर र दोलखा भाषिका बाहेक अन्य भाषिकाको अध्ययन त्यति विस्तृत रुपमा भएको देखिंदैन । यद्यपि नेपाल भाषाका भाषिकाहरुको समबन्धलाई इन्द्र माली (१९७८) ज्युले वृक्षात्मक चित्र कोरी यसरी प्रस्तुत गरेको पाइन्छ :-



ईन्द्र मालीज्यूको यस निर्धारण नेपालभाषा बोल्नेहरुको भौगोलिक वितरणको आधारमा गरिएको स्पष्ट छ । यहां भाषिक विशेषतालाई ध्यान नदिइएको हुनाले मालीज्युको उक्त परिकल्पनालाई संशोधन गर्न सकिन्छ । यस बाहेक माथि उल्लिखित अध्ययन क्षेत्रमा संकलन गरिएका तथ्यहरुको आधारमा ध्वन्यात्मक विश्लेषण गरेर ती क्षेत्रमा बोलिने नेपाल भाषाको सम्बन्ध स्तरीय नेपाल भाषामा के कस्तो रहेको छ सो निर्धारण गर्ने चेष्टा पनि गरिएको छ ।

ध्वनि विश्लेषण

उपयुर्क्त भाषिकाहरुको सामुहिक विश्लेषणबाट निम्नलिखित प्रकारका ध्वनिहरु नेपाल भाषामा रहेको थाहा हुन आएको छ ।

स्वर वर्ण :-

ध्वनि उत्पादनमा सहयोगी हुने अवयवहरुको संचालनबाट स्वर वर्णहरु उच्चारण गरिन्छन् । नेपाल भाषामा पाइने स्वर वर्णहरु निम्न प्रकार छन् ।

	अग्र	मध्य	पश्च
उच्च	इ		उ
मध्य	ए	अ	ओ (व)
निम्न		आ	

नेपाल भाषामा पाईने यी स्वर वर्णहरु मध्ये 'ओं को उच्चारणमा बढी ओष्ठीकरण हुने भएकोले 'वं ध्वनि संग मिल्दो जिल्दो छ । यी सबै स्वर वर्णहरु लम्ब्याएर पनि उच्चारण गरिन्छन् ।

	अग्र	मध्य	पश्च
उच्च	ई		ऊ
मध्य	ए:	अ:	ओ: (व:)
निम्न		आ:	

उपयुर्क्त दुबै थरीका स्वर वर्णहरु नासिकिकरण गरेर पनि उच्चारण गरिन्छन् ।

	अग्र	मध्य	पृश्च
साधारण	इँ		उँ
	एँ	अँ	ओँ (वँ)
		आँ	
लम्बित	ई ं		ऊं
	एं	अं	ओं (वं)
		आं	

यसरी नेपालभाषाका भाषिकाहरुमा मुख्य रुपमा ६ किसिमका स्वरवर्णहरुको प्रयोग हुने गरेको पाइयो । ती स्वरवर्णहरु लम्बयाएर पनि प्रयोग हुने विशेषता सबै भाषिकामा देखियो । यस बाहेक ती दुबै थरीका स्वर वर्णहरु नासिकिकरण गरिने विशेषता पनि सबै भाषिकामा रहेको देखियो । यसबाट के थाहा हुन्छ भने नेपाल भाषामा स्वर वर्णहरु लामो हुने गरी र नाकबाट उच्चारण गर्ने दुबै बिधि यस भाषाका ध्वनितात्विक विशेषता हुन ।

द्वि-स्वर वर्ण

जहांसम्म द्वि-स्वर वर्णहरुको कुरा छ यसबारे निश्चित रुपमा सामुहिक विशेषताको किटान गर्न अझै गाह्रो रहेको देखिन्छ । साधारणतया यस अनुसंधान अवधीमा देखिएको विशेषता अनुसार निम्नलिखित द्वि-स्वर वर्णहरु प्रयोगमा आएको देखियो ।

अ संयुक्त	अइ (ऐ)	अउ (औ)	अए (अय्)
आ संयुक्त	आइ	आउ	आए (आय्)
उ संयुक्त	उइ	उए	उअ

कंसाकार, मल्ल र तमोटज्यूहरु ले 'अए' र 'आए' द्विस्वर नभएर स्वतन्त्र स्वर मात्रै हो कि भन्ने प्रश्न उठाउनु भएका छन् । यो विचारनीय विषय हो ।

व्यञ्जन वर्ण

माथि उल्लिखित भाषिकाहरुको सामुहिक निस्कर्षबाट निम्न लिखित व्यजन वर्णहरु नेपाल भाषामा प्रयोग गरिएको देखिन्छ ।

साधारण				महाप्राणीकरण			
क	ग	ङ		ख	घ	ङ्ह	
च	ज	(ञ)		छ	झ	(ञ्ह)	
ट	ड	(ण)		ठ	ढ	(ण्ह)	
त	द	न		थ	ध	न्ह	
प	ब	म		फ	भ	म्ह	
य	व	(र)	ल	य्ह	व्ह	(ह)	ल्ह
स	ह						

माथि दिइएका साधारण व्यञ्जन वर्णहरुमा 'ट' र 'त' वर्गका वर्णहरु विवादास्पद छन् । कुनै भाषिकामा (दोलखा) दुबै पाइन्छन् भने कुनैमा यी दुबै वर्गका वर्णहरु प्राय नै (अन्य सबै भाषिका) प्रयोगमा ल्याउंछन् । नेपाली भाषा मातृभाषाका रुपमा अथवा द्वितीय प्रमुख भाषाका रुपमा स्विकारी सकेकाहरुले यी वर्णहरु राम्ररी उच्चारण गर्छन् । तर नेपाल भाषा मातृभाषा रहेपनि नेपाली भाषा अल्पांश मात्र प्रयोग गर्नेहरुलाई यी वर्णहरु ठिक तरिकाले उच्चारण गर्नमा कठिनाई रहेको महसुस गरियो । नेपाल भाषाका अधिकांश विशेषज्ञहरुले यी दुबै वर्गका वर्णहरु नेपाल भाषामा नरहेको तर देवनागरी मूलका अक्षर यस भाषामा पनि प्रयोग गर्ने गरेकोले लेखक तथा पाठक दुबै पक्षबाट स्वीकार गरेको देखिन्छ । यस भाषामा प्रयोग गरिने यस वर्गका अक्षर न त दन्त्य 'त' हुन न मुर्धण्य 'ट' नै हुन् (नेवामि १९८५) वास्तवमा नेपाल भाषामा प्रयोग गरिने उक्त ध्वनि त स्पर्श विधिद्वारा दन्तमूलीय (Alvelar Stop) स्थानबाट उच्चारण गरिन्छन् ।

यस बाहेक नासिकीय वर्णहरुमा 'ञ' र 'ण' को प्रयोग यस भाषामा हुंदैन । तर कतिपय आगन्तुक शब्दहरु यस भाषामा भित्र्याउंदा जस्ताको तस्तै प्रयोग गरिने गरिन्छ ।

कण्ठ्य नासिकीय वर्ण 'ङ' को प्रयोग काठमाडौं-पाटनमा बोलिने भाषिकामा प्राय लोप भइ सकेको देखियो । यस ध्वनिलाई खण्डिय वर्णको रुपमा भन्दा पनि खण्डेतरको रुपमा स्विकार्ने गरेका छन् (कंसाकार १९८२) । यस विशेषता अनुसार कुनै नासिकीय वर्ण को *पछाडी 'क' वर्गका अक्षरहरु आएमा उचारण स्थानको प्रभावबाट नासिकीय ध्वनि स्वत: 'ङ' हुन जाने प्रक्रिया देखिन्छ ।*

झंगल --- झङगल 'चरा'

यस 'ङ' ध्वनिको महाप्राणीकृत रुप (ङ्ह) पहरी भाषिकामा मात्र रहेको पाइन्छ । तर यस भषिकामा व्यतिरेकि भिन्नता भने पाउन सकिएन ।

न्यकू --- ङ्हुई 'सिङ'

'य' र 'व' को महाप्राणीकृत रुप दोलखा र पहरी बाहेक अन्य सबै भाषिकामा प्रयोग गरिएको पाइयो । यी दुइ वर्णहरु संयुक्ताक्षर वर्ण निमार्णमा निकै महत्वपूर्ण रहेको पनि देखिन्छ । स्वर वर्ण 'ओ' को उच्चारण 'व' संग फरक नभएकोले 'व' को महाप्राणीकृत रुप 'हो' संग मिल्दो जुल्दो देखिन्छ ।

'र' र 'ल' को ध्वनितात्विक भिन्नता पनि नरहेको देखियो । काठमाडौ-पाटन र भक्तपुरको भाषिकामा शब्दको अन्त्यमा आउने 'ल' ध्वनि अन्य भाषिकामा 'र' हुने विशेषता साधारणतया सबै भाषिकामा रहेको पाइयो ।

ध्वनि परिवतर्न

यस अनुच्छेदमा ध्वनि परिवर्तनका केहि नमुनाहरु प्रस्तुत गरिन्छ । यहां विशेषतया काठमाडौं-पाटन भाषिकामा प्रयोग गरिने स्वर वर्णका ध्वनि कुन भाषिकामा कसरी वितरण हुन्छन् 'सो को विश्लेषण गरिन्छ । यसरी यस अध्ययनमा काठमाडौ-पाटन(स्त,) लगायत भक्तपुर(भ,), प्याङगाउँ (प्यां) दोलखा(दो), धुलिखेल (धु,) बन्दिपुर(ब.), बढिखेल, पहरी (प.), गाउँका भाषा-भाषीहरु पर्छन र चित्लाङ गाउंका गोपाली (गो.), बलामी (ब.) र गमाल (ग.) भाषा-भाषीहरुलाई लिईएको छ ।

ध्वनि	रुप	भाषिका	अर्थ	परिवर्तन ध्वनि
इ-:	छि -- छे	(गो, ग)	द्वितीय पुरुष	इ --ए
	-पिं -- पुं	(भ, ब)	बहु वचन	इ---उ
उ-:	मनू -- मन्न	(प्यां)	मान्छे	उ--अ
अ-:	-मुनु	(ब, ग)	, ,	अ--उ
	-मुन्छि	(प)	, ,	अ--उ
	थ्व --- थु	(प्यां)	यो	अ--उ
	उ	(प, दो)	, ,	, ,
	बँ --- बोँ	(गो, बला, ग)	भुईं	अ-ओ
	झङगः--झाङगः	(भ, गो)	चरा	अ---आ
	सं --- सां	,, ,,	रौं	, ,
	फुकं --- फुकय्	(प्यां)	सबै	अ---अय्
आ--:	ला --- लय्	(प्यां)	मासु	आ---अय्
	पुसा -- पुसय्	,,	बिर्को, ढक्कन	, ,
	सिमा -- सिमय्	,,	रुख	, ,
	खिचा -- खिचय्	,,	कुकुर	, ,
	न्हाय् -- न्हय्	,,	नाक	, ,
	न्हायूपं -- न्हयूपं	(भ)	कान	, ,
	न्या -- न्याचय्	(प्यां)	माछा	, ,

यसरी काठमाडौ-पाटन भाषिकाका शब्दहरुको दांजोमा अन्य भाषिकाका शब्दहरुमा स्वर वर्ण परिवर्तन भएको देखिन्छ । यसबाट एक महत्वपुर्ण बुंदा के थाहा हुन आउंछ भने काठमाडौ-पाटन भाषिकामा शब्दान्तमा आउने 'अं र 'आं प्याङगाउं भाषिकाका अधिकांश शब्दहरुमा 'अय्' हुन जान्छन् । तर भक्तपुर र बन्दिपुर भाषिकामा यस परिवर्तन मध्य स्थानमा आउंछन् । यस बाहेक काठमाडौ-पाटनको आदि 'अ ' यी भाषिकामा 'आं हुन्छन् ।

स्तरीय	भ.ब.	अर्थ
सँ ----	साँ	रौं
लँ ----	लाँ	बाटो

व्यञ्जनवर्ण परिवर्तन

त्यसरि नै यस अनुच्छेदमा व्यन्जन वर्णहरुको वितरित रुप को विश्लेषण गरिन्छ । सर्वप्रथम समान रुपमा वितरित वर्णहरु मध्ये निम्न लिखित शब्दहरु उदाहरणको रुपमा यहां प्रस्तुत गरिन्छ ।

भाषिका	कुकुर	जुम्रा	रुख	बीउ	जरा	रगत	मासु	रौं	आँखा	नाम
काठ-पा	खिचा	सि	सिमा	पुसा	हा	हि	ला	सँ	मिखा	नां
भक्तपुर	खिचा	सि	सिमा	पुसा	हा	हि	ला	साँ	मिखा	नां

भाषिका	कुकुर	जुम्रा	रुख	बीउ	जरा	रगत	मासु	रौं	आँखा	नाम
बन्दिपुर	खिचा	सि	सिमा	पुसा	जरा	हि	ला	सौं	मिखा	नां
प्याङगाउं	खिचय्	सि	सिमय्	पुसय्	हय्	हि	लय्	सैं	मिखय्	नां
पहरी	कुजु	सि	सिमा	पुसा	हाखि	हि	घासा	सौं	मि	नोङ
दोलखा	खिचा	सि	सिमा	पुसा	हा	हि	थोंसि	सा	मिखा	नम्
बलामि	खिचा	सि	सिमा	पुसा	हा	हि	ला	सैं	मिखा	नां
गोपालि	खिचा	सि	सिमा	पुसा	हा	हि	ला	सैं	मिखा	नां
गमाल	खिचा	सि	सिमा	पुसा	हा	हि	ला	सैं	मिखा	नां
धुलिखेल	खिचा	सि	सिमा	पुसा	हा	हि	ला	सैं	मिखा	नां

यी शब्दहरुमा स्वर वर्णहरुका परिवर्तित रुप बाहेक सबैमा एउटै वर्गका ध्वनिबाट बनिएको पाइन्छ । अपवादको रुपमा 'मासु' शव्द दोलखा र पहरि भाषिकामा बेग्लै रहेकोले ती शव्दको अगमन श्रोत अन्य कतै रहेको अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ । यस बाहेक 'कुकुर' शव्द पहरीमा कुजु भए पनि 'ख' 'क' कै महाप्राणीकृत रुप हो । यस शव्दको सम्बन्ध उक्त भाषिकामा तिब्बति भाषा बाट नभएर अन्य भाषा समूहबाट भित्रिएको अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ । अन्य समान शब्दहरुको उदाहरण निम्न प्रकार छन् ।

भषिका	झरी	जिब्रो	नङ	खुट्टा	हात	दुध	घाम	आगो	बाटो	पानी	राम्रो
काठ-पा	वा	म्ये	लुसि	तुति	ल्हाः	दुरु	निभाः	मि	लं	लः	बांला
भक्त	वा	म्ये	लुसि	तुति	लाहा	दुरु	निभाः	मि	लौं	नाः	बांला
बन्दि	वा	म्ये	लुसि	तुति	ल्हाः	दुरु	नेबाः	मि	लौं	नाः	बांला
प्याङ	वा	म्ये	लुसि	तुति	लय्	धुरु	निब्वय्	मि	लैं	लः	भांला
पहरि	वा	म्ये	कुसि	लि	लाः	दुरु	सुरद्य	मि	लैं	लुखु	बाःला
दोलखा	वा	म्ये	कुब्रि	टुटि	लाहा	दुदु	निभार	मि	ल	लोखु	बाला
बलामि	वा	म्ये	लुस्युं	तुति	लाहा	दुरु	निभाः	मि	लैं	लहं	बांला
गोपालि	वा	म्ये	लुसिं	तुति	लाहा	दुरु	निभा	मि	ल्वौं	ल्वाहां	बांला
गमाल	वा	म्ये	लुसिं	तिते	लाहा	दुरु	निभा	मि	लैं	लाहां	बांला
धुलिखेल	वा	म्ये	लुसि	तुति	ल्हाः	दुरु	निभाः	मि	लपु	लः	बांला

यी शब्दहरुमा झरी, जिब्रो, आगो, दुध, बाटो, खुट्टा, राम्रो आदि शब्दहरु समान रुपमा सबै भाषिकामा काठमाडौ-पाटन भाषिकामा जस्तै एउटै ध्वनिबाट बनिएको देखिन्छ । तर 'नङ' शब्द पहरि र दोलखा भाषिकामा फरक रहेकोले र 'पानी' शब्द भक्तपुर र बन्दिपुरमा फरक रहेकोबाट के अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ भने पूर्वप्राचीन कालमा नेपाल भाषाको रुप एउटै रहे पनि पछि देशकाल परिस्थिति अनुसार सुचकहरुको विभाजनबाट कुनै भाषिकामा एउटै शब्द कायम रहे कुनैमा नयाँ शब्द भित्रिए । तर कुन नयाँ कुन मौलिक सो छुट्याउन गाहो छ ।

शब्दको आदि ध्वनि माथिका सबै शब्दहरुमा मिलेको देखिन्छ (कग्नेट) (दोलखा पहरि र प्याङगाउँ बाहेक) । यहां फरक देखिएका केहि बुंदाहरु यसरि केलाउन सकिन्छ।

| लाहात | — लात --- ला:
| लाहात | — लाहा
| लाहात | — ल्हात --- ल्हा:

यसबाट के अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ भने ल्हा:। "हात" शब्दको पूर्वरुप 'लाहात' रहेको देखिन्छ पछि कालान्तरमा कुनैमा 'ल' ध्वनि महाप्राणिकरण गरी 'ल्हात' भए कुनैमा शब्दान्त ध्वनि लोप भएर 'ल्हा: ' या 'लाहा' भए । त्यसरी नै 'पानी' शब्दका पूर्वरुप तिनवटा रहेको अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ 'ल्वाहँ ', 'ल्वाख' र 'न्वाख' । यी शब्दहरु कालान्तरमा यसरी बिभिन्न रुपमा बदलिए:-

| ल्वाहँ | — लाहँ
| ल्वाहँ | — ल्वाहँ
| ल्वाहँ | — ल्वहँ -- लोह -- लहँ

| ल्वाख | — ल्वख --लोख -- लुख -- लुखु
| ल्वाख | — लोखु -- लख -- ल:

| न्वाख | — न्वख-- नोख -- नाख --ना:

यसरी शब्दहरु कालान्तरमा परिवर्तित रुप लिंदै कुनैमा जस्ता तस्तै रहे कुनैमा ध्वनिको परिवर्तन हुंदै 'लहँ ' भए भने कुनैमा 'लोखु', 'लुखु' र कुनैमा 'ल:' र 'ना: ' हुन गए । अन्य परिवर्तित रुपहरु संकलित तथ्यका अधारमा निम्नलिखित रहेको देखिन्छ :-

स्पर्श ध्वनि परिर्वतन

दन्तमूलीय स्पर्श ध्वनिबाट बनिएका कतिपय शव्दहरु दोलखा भाषिकामा मुर्धण्य ध्वनिसंग मिल्ने गरेको पनि पाईयो ।

तुति--टुटि (दो) खुट्टा

ताडीत र पार्श्विक ध्वनिको सम्बन्ध

काठमाडौ-पाटनमा अक्षरान्तमा आउने 'ल' ध्वनि अन्य भाषिकामा ' र ' संग मिल्ने गरेको देखिन्छ ।

निभा (ल) --	निभार(दो)	घाम
बिल- --	बिर-(गो, बला)	दिए
वल- --	वर (बला)	आए
ब्वल-- --	ब्वर (दो)	उडे

आदि सघोस ध्वनि महाप्राणीकरण

आदि सघोस ध्वनि महाप्राणीकरण हुने विशेषता प्याङगाउं भाषिकामा मात्र कायम रहेको देखिन्छ ।

'ग'	गंगु --- घंगु	सुकेको
'ज'	जिपिं --- झितु	हामीहरू
	जायेक ---झारु	भरिएको
'द'	दुरु --- धुरु	दूध
	दनेगु --- धनेगु	उठनु
'ब'	बं --- भं	भुईं
	बौँला --- भांला	राम्रो

नासिकियवर्ण परिर्वतन

काठमाडौ-पाटन भाषिकामा कण्ठ्य नासिकिय ध्वनि केवल खण्डेतर ध्वनिको रुपमा मात्र रहेको (कंसाकार) र अरु भाषिकामा ध्वनिग्रामको रुपमा स्विकारनु पर्ने देखिन्छ ।

न्या (माछा)	-- ङा (भ, ब, दो, गो, बला, ग र धु)	माछा
	-- ङ (प)	
न्यकू (सिङ)	-- ङःकः (भ, ब)	सिङ
	-- ङःकू (गो, बला)	
	-- ङ्हुइ (प)	

काठमाडौ-पाटन भाषिकाको महाप्राणीकृत दन्तमूलीय नासिकिय वर्ण 'न्ह' अन्य भाषिकामा अल्पप्राण रहने गरेको देखिन्छ ।

न्हाय्पं	- नपु ईं (गो)	कान
	- नसपुति (दो)	
न्हाय्	- नास (दो)	नाक
	- नाः (गो)	
न्हिपं	- न्यपुं (प्याङ)	पुच्छर
	- निपें (गो)	
	- नेपं (बला)	

यस बाहेक महाप्राणीकृत नासिकीय ओष्ठ्य वर्ण 'म्ह' अन्य भाषिकामा अल्पप्राण हुने गरेको पनि पाईयो ।

म्हुतु	- मुतु (प्याङ)	मुख
	- मुथु (गो, बला, ग)	

यसरी विभिन्न किसिमबाट एक भाषिकाको ध्वनि अर्को भाषिकामा अन्य ध्वनिसंग मिल्ने भएकोले एउटै भाषाका बोली भाषिकाको विशेषतानुसार फरक महसुस हुन्छ ।

उपसंहार

यस लेखनमा उपयुक्त अध्ययन क्षेत्रभित्र पर्ने भाषिकाहरूमा एकै प्रकारका स्वरवर्णहरूको प्रयोग गरेको देखिन्छ । त्यसरी नै व्यञ्जन वर्णहरूमा 'ट', 'ड ', 'ङ' र 'र' बाहेक सबै ध्वनिहरू सबै भाषिकामा रहेको पाईयो । जहाँ सम्म मुर्धन्य 'ट' र 'ड' को प्रश्न छ यी ध्वनिहरू दोलखा भाषिकामा मात्र सीमित रहेको पाईन्छ । कण्ठ्य नासिकिय 'ङ' ध्वनि स्तरीय रुपमा प्राय लोप भै सकेको छ । तर अन्य भाषिकामा यथावत कायमै छ । यसको महाप्राणीकृत रुप केवल पहरी भषिकामा मात्र रहेको छ । 'र' र 'ल' को परिवर्तन सीमीत रुपमा शव्दको अन्तमा मात्र देखा परेको छ । यसबाट के निष्कर्श निकाल्न सकिन्छ भने काठमाडौ-पाटन (स्त.) भक्तपुर (भ.), प्याङगाउँ (प्यां.) दोलखा (दो.), धुलिखेल (धु.) बन्दिपुर (ब.)ण, बढिखेल,पहरी (प.), गोपाली (गो.), बलामी (ब.) र गमाल (ग.) मध्ये दोलखा र पहरी भाषिकामा अत्यधिकांश शव्दहरुको रुप अन्य भाषिकामा भन्दा धेरै फरक भएकोले ती दुई भाषिका धेरै पहिला छुट्टिएको स्पष्ट छ । अन्य भाषिकामा शब्दको आदी ध्वनि मिल्दो जुल्दो रहेकोले एउटै श्रोतबाट भित्रिएको हुनुपर्छ । यहां केवल ध्वनि कै आधारमा अवलोकन गरी विश्लेषण गरिएको छ र रुपावलीको घेरा भित्र ती भाषिकाहरु अध्ययन गर्दा अन्य विशेषता परिचय पाउन सकिन्छ ।

<u>सन्दर्भ सूची</u>

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नेपाल सम्बत र म्हपुजा[1]

पुर्णकाजी शाक्य

मानव सभ्यताको बिकासको साथै मानिसका बिभिन्न रीतिरिवाज संस्कृतिहरु पनि क्रमश:बिकास हुंदै आएको हुन्छ । तसर्थ नेपालमा पनि अनेक जातिहरुको साथै आ-आफ्नो रीति रिवाज संस्कृति पाइन्छ । जसमध्ये नेवारहरुको सामाजिक रिति रिवाजहरूमा प्रमुख चाँड 'म्हपुजा' लाई मानिन्छ भने सम्बतमा 'नेपाल सम्बत' लाई लिईन्छ । किन कि 'म्ह पुजा' गर्ने दिनमा नयां वर्षमा प्रवेश हुन्छ र आफ्नै नयाँ सम्बतको शुरुवात हुन्छ । जस लाइ मल्ल काल र शाह काल देखि नै हालसम्म पनि 'नेपाल सम्बत' भनी सम्बोधन गर्दै आएको छ । यस कुरालाई पुष्टी गर्न विभिन्न अभिलेख र ऐतिहासिक श्रोतहरुबाट ज्ञात हुन्छ । तसर्थ म्हपुजा नेवारहरुको राष्ट्रिय चाँड एवं प्रमुख अस्तित्वको रुपमा लिईएको छ।

म्हपुजालाई स्वन्ती नखः पनि भनिन्छ । स्वन्ती भन्नाले तीन दिनको तीथि अनुसार हुन गएको भन्ने बुझिन्छ र मुख्यतया तीनदिनसम्म प्रमुख दिन अर्थात लक्ष्मी पुजा, म्ह पुजा र किजा पुजा (भाई टिका) सम्पन्न गरिन्छ यसै तीन दिनलाई नेपाली भाषामा तिहार भन्ने गरेको छ। त्यस्तै यस चाँडलाई यमपञ्चकको रूपमा पनि लिने गरेको छ, अर्थात लक्ष्मी पूजाको दुईदिन अगाडीदेखिको पूजा (काग पूजा) खिचा पुजा (कुकुर पुजा) गरिन्छ । लक्ष्मी पुजा, म्ह पूजा र किजा पुजा गरी पांचदिनलाई मुख्य दिन मानेर 'यम पञ्चक ' भनिएको छ । यमपञ्चक यमराजसंग सम्बन्धित छ । किनकि यी पांचदिन यम राज प्रत्येक वर्षमा मर्त्य मण्डलमा अनिवार्य आउनु पर्ने भएको ले यमपञ्चक भनिएको हो । पहिलो दिन अर्थात कार्तिक त्रयोदशीका दिन कागलाई टाढा टाढाका सूचना दिने दूतको रूपमा मानी खाने कुरा दिई पूजा गरिन्छ । दोस्रो दिन कार्तिक कृष्ण चतुर्दशीका दिन मानिसको देहान्त हुंदा काक पिण्ड भनी कुकुरलाई यमदूतको प्रतीक मानी पिण्ड दि ईन्छ र विश्वासिलो, सुरक्षा गर्ने गुणी सम्झी फूलमाला लगाई दिई खाने कुरा दिइन्छ । तेस्रो दिन कार्तिक कृष्ण औंसीका दिन धनको प्रतीक मानी आ-आफ्नो मूल ढुकुटीमा लक्ष्मीको आह्वान गरि विभिन्न रंग बिरंगी बत्ति धूप फलफूल एवं विभिन्न परिकार राखी पुजा गरिन्छ । नेवारहरू नेपाल सम्बतको आखीरी दिनमा लक्ष्मीको बास गराई वर्ष भरी सुखमयसंग जीवन बितावस भन्ने उद्देश्यले पूजा सम्पन्न गरिन्छ । चौथो दिन लक्ष्मी पूजा को भोली पल्ट अर्थात कार्तिक शुक्ल प्रतिपक्षको दिन 'म्ह पूजा' विषेश तवरले मनाईन्छ । यो म्ह पुजा नेवारहरूको प्रमुख मौलिक चाँडको रूपमा लिईन्छ । किन कि यो दिनमा नेपाल सम्बत फेर्ने नयाँ वर्ष शुरु हुने भएकोले प्रत्येक व्यक्तीले नुवाई धुवाई गरी आ-आफ्नो घर घरमा लिप-पोट गरेर सफा सुग्घर गरिन्छ । विहानदेखि विभिन्न बाजा-गाजा बजाई नयाँ वर्षको उपलक्षमा गाउं एवं शहरहरुको परिक्रमा गरी भाई नाता कुटुम्बहरू आपसमा (भिंतुना) अर्थात शुभकामना दिने चलन छ । बेलुका आपनो शरीरलाई आरोग्य तथा सुस्वास्थ्यको कामना गरी अबीर सिन्दुर रंगले मण्डप बनाई त्यसको बीच भागमा तेलको टीका (बिन्दु) लगाई केलाएको आधा नभएको सिंगो चामल (आख्य:) धान, लावा आदिले मण्डप सजाईन्छ ।

त्यस्तै उक्त मण्डपको अगाडीतिर बिमिरो, केरा, सुन्तला, भोगटे, ओखर,सुपारी फूलको माला आदि विभिन्न प्रकारका फलफूल राखिन्छ । सबै भन्दा माथि सुकुन्दा र सबभन्दा तल कूचो र घडा राखिन्छ । यी सुकुन्दा र घडाको बीचमा घर परिवारका सदस्यहरू उमेर अनुसार क्रमबद्ध भई बरिष्ठ व्यक्ति थाकुलीको रूपमा बसी आफ्नो शरीर पूजाको निमित्त घरको आईमाई थाकुलिनीबाट पकाएको माछा, उसिनेको हाँसको फुल (अण्डा) रक्सी, जाँड मासु बारा (व:) आदि संयुक्त गरी सगुन लिई मंगल कामना गरिन्छ । सगुन लिंदा चन्द्रमालाई अगाडी या दाहिने पारिन्छ । यसरी सगुन लिइ सकेपछि बिभिन्न परिकारहरु राखी भोज खाने गरिन्छ ।

नेवारहरुको यस म्हपुजा मनाउने र नेपाल सम्बत चलाउने बारे नेवार साहित्य एवं नेपालको इतिहासमा एक रोचक कथा प्रस्तुत

[1] *Nepal Sambat ra mhapujaa* ' Nepal Sambat and Body Worshipping Ceremony', Purna Kazi Shakya

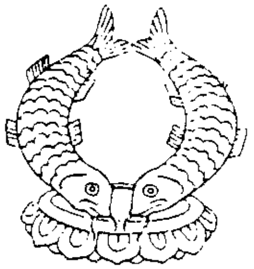
नेवारहरुको यस म्हपुजा मनाउने र नेपाल सम्बत चलाउने बारे नेवार साहित्य एवं नेपालको इतिहासमा एक रोचक कथा प्रस्तुत गरिएको पाईन्छ । जुन संक्षेपमा यस प्रकार को छ । आजभन्दा १११८ वर्ष अघि भक्तपुरका राजा आनन्द मल्ललाई एक प्रख्यात ज्योतीष शास्त्रीले शुभ साईतमा विष्णुमती र बागमती खोलाको बीचमा रहेको लखुतीर्थमा सुनको बालुवा बगेर आउने छ भनी भविश्यवाणी गरी विन्ती चढायो उक्त बिन्ती अनुसार राजाले चारजना भरियालाई बालुवा ल्याउन अहाई पठाए । भरियाहरुले पनि निर्देशन अनुसार भनेको शुभ साईतमा बालुवा लिन आएकोमा केही रहस्य होला भन्ने अनुमान गरी कान्तिपुरका शंखधर भन्ने व्यक्तीले ती बालुवा लिन आउने भरियाहरूलाई फकाई फुलाई लोभ लालचमा पारी त्यो बालुवाको भारी आफ्नो घरमा खन्याउन लगाई भक्तपुरका राजाको लागी अलग्गै अर्को बालुवा लिन लगाई पठायो । यता भक्तपुरका राजा भरिया हरुले ल्याएको बालुवा सुन नभएको ज्योतिषीलाई झुठा ठह-याई गाली गरे । ज्योतिषी आश्चर्य मानी शास्त्र झुठो रहेछ भनी आफ्नो सबै किताब ग्रन्थहरु जलाई दिए । उता शंखधरको घरमा बलुवा सुन भएको देखेर उसले कान्तिपुरका राजा जयदेवसंग अनुमती लि एर सोही सुनबाट सबै जनताको ऋण तिरी आफ्नो नाउंमा 'शंखधर कृत नेपाल संबत' नाउं राखे । यसरी सबै जनताको ऋणबाट मुक्त भएको महत्वपूर्ण दिन नयाँ वर्षको सम्झना गरी त्यस दिन 'म्हपुजा' मनाउने गरेको उल्लेख पाईन्छ ।

म्हपुजाको भोलिपल्ट अर्थात कार्तिक शुक्ल द्वितीयाका दिन अर्थात यम पञ्चकको अन्तिम दिन किजा पुजा (भाइ टीका) गरिन्छ । यो दिन पनि प्रत्येक घर घरमा आ-आफ्ना दाजु भाइलाई दिदि बहिनीहरूले आरोग्य र सुस्वास्थ्यको कामना गरी सगुन दिई पुजा गरिन्छ । यो किजा *पुजामा* पनि म्हपुजा जस्तै विभिन्न फलफूल, केला एको अक्षता, धान रंगी बिरंगी सिन्दुर आदिले मण्डप बनाईन्छ । तर ग्वय् स्वाँ (मखमली फूल) को माला ओखर बिमीरो आदि राख्नु र तेलको टिका लगाउनु अनिवार्य मानिन्छ । यसरी मण्डपको वरिपरि सजाई पूजा सम्पन्न गरिन्छ ।

यी स्वन्ती चाँडमा प्रत्येक दिन बेलुकी घरका मूल ढोका र झ्यालहरूमा दीयो बालिन्छ । तसर्थ यस चाँडलाई दिपावलीको रूपमा पनि मनाउंदै आएको पाईन्छ । यो चाँड नेवार समाजमा क्रमबद्ध रुपमा मनाउने चलन छ । यसमा कोही पनि नेवारहरू त्यसै बसेमा या बहिष्कार गरेमा यमराजको काममा ढिला सुस्ती गरेको ठहर्द छ, ढिलासुस्ती गर्ने यमराजको दण्डभागी हुन्छ भन्ने जनश्रुती पाईन्छ ।

अन्त्यमा, यो भन्न सकिन्छ कि विशेषतया आयू आरोग्य स्वास्थ्यको दृष्टीले 'म्ह पुजा' निकै महत्वपूर्ण एवं भावपूर्ण छ । अर्को दिदी-बहिनी, दाजु-भाई एवं परिवारहरुमा आपसी पारस्परिक सम्बन्ध बढाउनमा पनि यसको ठूलो भूमिका रहेको छ ।

साभार: दियालो त्रैमासिक (वर्ष२:अंक३,१९९५) क्यानाडा



भक्तपुरको सिंहध्वाखा दरवार[1]

लीलाभक्त मुनकर्मी
भक्तपुर

भक्तपुरका राजा भुपतीन्द्र मल्लले निर्माण गरेका दरवारहरुमा उत्कृष्ट मानिएको सिंहध्वाखा दरवार पनि एक हो । राजा भुपतीन्द्र मल्लको राज्य कालमा धेरै निर्माण कार्यहरू सुसम्पन्न भएकोले भक्तपुर शहर सुन्दरताको उच्चकोटीमा पुगेको थियो । राजा भुपतीन्द्र मल्लले यो दरवार लगभग दुई वर्षमा तयार पार्न लगाएका थिए । यो दरवारको झ्याल र तोरणमा कोरिएका कला र मेहनत देखी अध्ययनकर्ताहरू आश्चर्य मान्छन् ।

यो दरवारको चार किल्ला यस प्रकार छन् :- पश्छिममा चौकोट दरवार उत्तरमा महादेव चोक भएको दरवार, पूर्वमा जहं चोक र तलेजु भवानीको भोग पकाउने भंछाघर र दक्षिण तर्फ यस राजदरवारको दक्षिणाभि मुख लायकूको मूलबाटो । यो दरवार चार तल्लाको थियो र लगभग दुई अढाई हातको पेटीको उचाईमा निर्माण गरिएको छ । तर मूलढोकाको प्रवेशद्धार जमीनबाट लगभग एक फुटको उचाईमा निर्माण गरिएको छ ।

यो राजदरवारको मूल प्रवेशद्धारको दांया-बांया ठूलो ढुंगामा निर्मित एक जोडा सिंह र हिरण्यकस्यपुलाई बध गरेको मुर्ति छन् । त्यसको दाँया-बाँया खम्बामाथि स-साना ८वटा मुर्तिहरू पनि अवस्थित छन् । दोस्रो तल्लामा मसिनु कलाले भरिएका तोरणहरूमा बिभिन्न देव देवीहरूका मुर्ति प्रतिस्था गरिएक छन् । यी तोरणहरु मुनि १२-१४ वटा बिभिन्न प्रकारका झ्यालहरु छन् । त्यसमध्ये बीचका झ्यालहरू ठुल्-ठुला छन् । तेस्रो तल्लामा पाँच-पाँच वटा संझ्याल जोडेका १५ वटा झ्यालको तोरण सहित आंखे झ्याल थिए । चौथो तल्लामा छाना माथि बुर्जा थियो र छानाको मुनितिर बिभिन्न आकृति कोरिएका टुंडाल हरु जडान गरी दरवार सिंगारिएको थियो । यही दरवारलाई राणा सरकारले बिदेशी दरवारको नक्कलमा निर्माण गर्न लगाएर लाल बैठक नामाकरण गरी सिंहध्वाखा नाम लोप गर्ने चेष्टा गरिएको थियो ।

यो दरवार राणा सरकारले निमार्ण गर्न भन्दा पहिले यसलाई कसैले सिंह ध्वाखा कसैले न्हयकं झ्याः दरवार, कसैले मालती चोक दरवार भन्ने गर्दथ्यो । यो दरवारका झ्यालहरुमा ऐना राखी निमार्ण गराईएकोले 'न्हयकं झ्याः दरवार' हुन गएको हो [२] । यो दरवारभित्र मालती चोकमा एउटा अत्यन्त राम्रो र मेहनतले निमार्ण गरिएको सानु सुनको पाताले मोडिएको बोकाको टाउकोको मुखबाट पानी बहने हिसि परेको धारा पनि छ । यस धाराको दाँया-बाँया लिंगाकारको स-साना मन्दिरहरू र धारा माथि शक्तिलाई काखमा बोकी पाँचवटा टाउको भएको श्री भैरवको मुर्ति स्थपित गरिएको छ । यहां सुनको मोलम्बा पातामा कोरिएको अभिलेख निम्न प्रकार छः

> ॐ स्वस्ति ॥ सम्बत ८१८ फाल्गुन वदि ९
> श्री श्री जय भपतीन्द्र मल्ल देवसनं दयका ॥

यो धारामा अवस्थित ससाना मूर्तिहरू र धाराको सूनको मोलम्बा पातामा लिखित अभिलेख नै गायब भैसकेको छ । यी देव-देवीका मुर्तिहरु र अभिलेख कोरिराखेको सूनको पाता चित्र संग्रहालय खोल्नु अघिसम्म त्यहिं थियो । अहिले मुर्तिहरु गायब भएर लथालिङ अवस्थामा राखिएको छ । त्यहांको घण्टाचाहिं हाल गणेश चोकको श्री गणेशको मुर्ति अगाडी राखिएको छ । यो घण्टाको आवाज अत्यन्त तीखो छ ।

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1 *Bhakatpur ko singha dhwaakhaa Darvaar* ' Singha Dhwaakha Palace of Bhakatpur' Lila Bhakta Munakarmai

2 यो दरवारको तत्कालिन समयका चित्रः नेपालकोसास्कृतिक तथा ऐतिह्सइक दिग्दर्शन पृष्ठ १९३ मा दिईएको छ ।

यसमा कुंडिएको अभिलेख यस प्रकारको छ:

ॐ स्वस्ती ॥ श्री श्री जय भुपतीन्द्र मल्ल देव
प्रभु ठाकुर सन जिल स्वान चुकस तया व
वया नित्य पूजा यात थ्व घण्टा दुंता । सम्बत ८१८
फाल्गुन सुदी ९ ॥ शुभं ॥

यो सिह ध्वाखा दरवार निर्माण गर्दा प्रवेशद्वारको दाँया-बाँया हनुमान र नृसिंहका मुर्तिहरू प्रतिस्था गराई सो मुर्तिमा पर्वकाल अनुसार नित्य पूजा चलाउन गुठीको व्यबस्था गरेको थियो । सिंह ध्वाखाको प्रवेशद्वारको दाँया तर्फ प्रतिस्था गराई राखेको श्री हनुमानको मुर्तिको पादमा लिखित अभिलेख यस प्रकारको छः-

ॐ प्रा पारा वारा बिलं घनो दश मुखस्यं नन्दं
बिघ्न सतो लंका देशो विद्या हको रघुबते
राजा करःसर्बदा । सीता हर्ण प्वायको हयु
पवने संत्रा सनो रक्षा मनमां पाया ह्युप पुरं
दरं रघु कुलोद भूतं हनुमानयं ॥
ॐ स्वस्ति॥ श्री २ जय भुपतीन्द्र मल्ल
देवसन थ्व हनुमानया मुर्ति दयेका जुरो ॥
सम्बत ८१८ फल्गुण शुदि ९ ॥

यसरी नै बाँया तर्फको प्रवेशद्वारनिर अवस्थित श्री नृसिंहको पादमा लिखित अभिलेख यस प्रकार छः-

ॐ फुरल्ल वन भिसणां दिति जगुथसं
त्रासनो हिरण्य कसीपु रूषा हदि विदा
रणौ कोत्सुक :
ज्ञाता विक्ट मुर्ति मान्स कूल्लोक रक्षा
परो युगानु दुहनो पमो जयति नार सिंह हरिः ॥
ॐ स्वस्ती ॥ श्री २ जय भुप तीन्द्र मल्ल
देवसन थ्व नर सिंह मुर्ति दयेका जुरो ॥
सम्बत ८१८ फालगुण शुदि ९ ॥

यो हनुमानको र नृसिंहको पुजा पर्व चलाउन मालती चोकको उत्तराधि मुख भितामा दुईवटा अभिलेख भएका शिलापत्र छन् । एउटा शिलापत्रलो लम्बाई चौडाई ५२-३ इंच र दोस्रो शिलापत्रको लम्बाई चौडाई ४४-५६ सेन्टीमिटरको छ । विदेशी इतिहाँसकारहरूले यो दरवारमा श्री खण्डका झ्यालहरू पनि निर्माण गरिएका थिए भनी अडकल गरेको उल्लेख पाईन्छ [3]

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3 यस झ्यालको चित्र भोयाज अर नेपालमा दिईएको छ ।

खः जि नेवाः[1]

दुर्गालाल श्रेष्ठ

(१)

गुगु न्ह्यजुनी जक पित खै मस्यु जिं
उलित भरायूजिगु पुण्य;
जन्मं हे थौं जुई खन नेवाः,
भाग्य अहो ! जिगु धन्य !

(२)

नेवाः खः, अभिमान जितः दु
खः जि व राष्ट्रिय गर्व !
नेपाः जिगु दे - थुगु धरतिया
मनुखं दयू कूगु स्वर्ग !

(३)

गुलि जक सिर्जनशीलगु छिमि ल्हाः
यः पुरुखा जिमि नेवाः !
जिगु कविता खः च्याका तैगु
छिमि निम्तिं हे देवा !

(४)

जिगु नुगलय् बरु प्वने ब्यु नुगः हे
अन नेपाः जिगु दयूमा !
सुंक वनाः जिं ज्यान पिनाबी
अन नेवाः जिगु ह्वयूमा !

[1] *Khah ji newaah* (chinaakhan) ' I am Newar'(Poem) Durga Lal Shrestha

रामायण[1]

अच्युत श्रेष्ठ, मेरिलैण्ड, सं.रा.अ.

(थः झिंनिदँ दुबलय् निसें कविता च्वयेगु रहर पिहाँ वःगु अले संसार भवनाय् हे लिकुना च्वंगु दु धैगु थ्व च्वमिया धापू खः । अकें थन वेकलं भाव केन्द्रित जुयाः छन्द्रशास्त्रयात बःमकासे थम्हं ल्हाना च्वनागु मां भायया रामायण अभाव जूगु तायेकाः थःगु च्वसा न्ह्याका दीगु दु । थ्व रामायण गुबले पुवनी ला धाये फूगु मखु तर थ्व च्वमिया थःभाय् प्रति दया च्वंगु मतिना धाःसा अवश्यनं कुंखिने थाय् मदु । थन छेला तःगु भाय् स्तरिय नेपाल भाषा नाप ज्वः मलाः सां थ्व रामायणया भाय् ल्हाना भायुल्य् लिकुना च्वंगु अवश्य खने दु । थन वेकः अच्युत श्रेष्ठजुया पुमवंनीगु रामायण महाकाव्यया 'वन्दना' शीर्षक निसें नेपाली भाषां नापं भाय् हिलाः "अन्तर राष्ट्रिय नेपाली साहित्य समाज "या स्वलापौ 'अन्तरदृष्टि'-(४:१) सं कथहं पिहां वःगु खः। उके मध्यय् नेपालभाषाया ब्व जक थन न्ह्यथना च्वना - संपादक)

वन्दना

लुमंका च्वना मंगल दायक सिद्धि दाता गणपति !
ल्हाती च्वना ब्यु मती दईब्यु हे मांजु सरस्वती !
वालमिकी, तुलसीदास, भानुभक्त गुरुपिंत नमस्कार याना !
थौ वि.सं.२०४५ माघ २५ गते बनी दश बजे
रामायण नेवा भासाय् च्वयेगु शुरु याना ॥१॥

अमेरिकाया मेरिलैण्ड, न्यु क्यारोल्टन,
७९०४ पावहाइन स्ट्रिटया छें ।
प्रभु कृपायाना च्वयेगु ला प्रेरणा छं बिल ।
धुलिजक मखु प्रभु !
सिधयेकेउ नं शक्ती बी माल ॥२॥

जिला छुं हे मखु प्रभु !
तुलसीदास त पतिंचा ज्वना बीत धायाब्यु ।
छंत यःसा तुति मदुपिं गुलि च्वये च्वये वनेफु !
जिं छन्त बांलाक मस्यू सां नं छं ला जितः स्यू ॥३॥

जिं छन्त गननं मखं सान, छंला जित न्ह्याथाय् नं स्वये फु ।
हक दु कि मरु जिं मस्यु बिन्ति थो हे दु
छुकी छुकी दृष्टी वन उकी उकी थःत क्यंका ब्यु॥४॥

[1] *Ramayana* Composed by Achyut Shrestha

हे रामभक्त हनुमान कोटी कोटी नमस्कार लुमंका च्वना !
हे राम परिवार रक्षक बारम्बार छन्त वन्दना !
हे मनोरथ पुरक थो पुष्पाञ्जलि स्विकार याकि जिगु प्रार्थना ॥५॥

गुलि गुलि धाल उलि उलि मगाः राम छौ खँ !
आ सम्म सुनां धाये फत प्रभो ! छौं लँ र छन्त !
सुनां सुनां छु छु धाल व हे खः छं
धाये मफुपिनिया नं छक्क नं खः छं ॥६॥

बांलाक मस्यु प्रभु थः हे सु खः जि
निभाःत मत कयंका चों थें जिं
उपो जिजुया बार्चनं समुद्रया लःवांछोया गंका च्वना
रामायणया सकलें पात्र पिंत नमस्कार याना ॥७॥

थौ थौ चरित्र फुक्क कलमं प्याहां वयेफेमा धाई छोता ।
राम नाम प्रभु राम छम हे खः सीके मा !
गन शब्द राम गुञ्जित जुई अन प्रभु राम दई ॥८॥

अर्थ रामया खः ईश्वर संसारया ,
राम नाम दुने अस्तित्व दु पूर्ण ब्रम्हाण्डया ।
कलियुगे अपुका बिल प्रभुनं भवसागर पारया नां कयाः
भक्तिभाव नं हे ज्वी जीवन लक्ष- 'ईश्वर प्राप्तियां ॥९॥

ईश्वर प्राप्तिं नं जीवन चक्र सिधै मोक्ष दै ,
थोया नं च्वे सेवाभाव वयाः सच्चिदानन्द दै ॥१०॥

कथहं.........

नेपाःया शास्त्रीय प्याखँ : चर्या प्याखँनय् : छपुलु [1]

चन्द्रमान मुनिकार

१. चर्या प्याखँ छु खः (Introduction)

त्रिभङ्य् च्वनाः लास्या व ताण्डवय् समावेश जुयाः भाव पुर्ण मुद्राय् सम्पुर्ण अंगया परिचालन यानाः आध्यात्मिक भावना व भक्तिरसं पूर्णयानाः गुम्ह देवदेवी पिनिगु ध्यान भावना यात हे थःके निहित यानाः भगवान हे धैथें जुया हुलेगु प्याखँ चर्या प्याखँ खः। थ्व प्याखँ हुलीबलय् देव देवी पिन्सं गथे याना वसःतिसा पुना तैगु खः अथेहे याना सकभर मिले जुईक पुनेमाः ।

२. चर्या प्याखँ गथेयानाः हुली (Dance Method):

चर्या प्याखँ शुरु जुई न्हयो थ्व प्याखँया पदज्ञान (Steping) सिईके अतिकं हे आवश्यक जू । पद त थुगु प्रकारं दु :

१) सम पद २) वज्र पद ३) मण्डल पद

४) त्रिभङ्ग पद ५) आलिंघ पद ६) प्रत्यालिंघ पद

७) नमामी पद

दक्कसिबे न्हापां तप्यंक च्वनाः दनी (Parallel step) थ्वयात सम-पद धाई । अनंलि तुतियात अंग्रेजी (V) आकार दयेकाः ल्हाः निपां जँय् तयाः वज्र पदय् च्वनी । अनंलि पुतुं च्वनाः तुति मफासे पुलिया थाय् गोलाक ह्वः दयेकाः मण्डल पदय् च्वनी । थ्वयाँ लिपा जँयात देपाय् हीका छ्यों नं उखे हे चाहिकाः च्वनेगुयात त्रिभङ्ग धाई । थ्व प्याखँ हुयेबलय् आलिंघ पद व प्रत्यालिंघ पद निगुलिं समावेश यायेमाः । गथे तुति न्ह्योने जवय् यंका ग्वालिं चुइगु अथवा प्रत्यालिंघ छ्यली, अथेहे लिउने पाखे यंकाः पालिं चुयेगुः अथवा आलिंघपद छ्यली । थ्व १६, १६ मात्राया ताल न्यनाः पद चालन याये माः । न्ह्योने निकः लिउने निकःयाना जम्मा प्यकः आधार जुल । अले थ्व आधार पलाः छसि निसें प्यकः प्यकः याना झिंखुकः पाद चालन यायेवं पुवनी । दक्व चरणया समाप्ति धुंकाः नमामी याये बलय् निपां तुतिया ग्वालि ल्हवनाः पालिं जक चुयाः घिस्रेयासें गोलाकारय् तयाः खव ल्हाःयात सिधा खव पाखे भचा गोलाकारय् तयाः जव ल्हाःयात न्ह्योने सिधा छ्यों च्वय् तयाः छ्यों भचा लिउने थेचुईका जवगु ल्हाःया पतिं पाखे स्वयाः चाकःलिं चा हिले माः । थथे यायेगुयात नमामी पद चालन यायेगु धाई । नमामी धकाः प्रत्येक चर्या प्याखँ हुलेबलय् म्येया धुवा पतिकं नमामी कायेमाः । अनं लिपा श्लोक सिधयेवं थ्वहे नमामी पदं चर्या प्याखँ क्वचायेकी ।

३. आसनः (Pose)

दक्व देव-देवी पिनिगु मुद्रा अथवा आसन (Pose) काये बलय् त्रिभङ्गासनय् च्वनेमाः । आसन कायेबलय् यदि त्रिभङ्ग मजुल धाःसा व प्याखँ चर्या प्याखँ थें मजुसे गुगुं बिस्कं प्याखँ थें जक जूवनी । चर्या प्याखनय् दक्व धईथें मुद्रातयेत प्यंगु अलग अलग ज्यामितिय कोणय् अर्थात डिग्री (Degree) ब्वथलाः घरिया अःखतं(Anti-clock Circling)चाहिलेगु यानाः तःगु दु ।

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[1] *Nepaayaa shaastriya charyaa pyaakhanye Chapulu* 'Classical Charya Dance of Nepal' Chandra Man Munikar.

Mr. Munikar is associated with Anandakuti Vidhyapeeth (Boarding School)Swayambhu, Kathmandu as a researcher and director of the Classical Dance. He can be reached @ Ph.271499,272063, 142163 or Fax: 977-1-270826.

(क) ४५ डिग्री (ख) ९० डिग्री

(ग) १३५ डिग्री (घ) १८० डिग्री

थुकी क्वय् (bottom)^0 डिग्री च्वय् (top) १८०^0 डिग्री अर्थात भुमि व आकाश भापिया परम्परागत नृत्य शास्त्रय् स्पष्ट याना त:गु दु।

३.१ ४५^0 डिग्रीया मुद्रा (Fortyfive Degree Mudra):

छातिया न्ह्योनेनिसें क्वसं च्वंगु दक्व मुद्रातयृत ४५^0 डिग्री लाका: कायेमा: । थुकी ला:गु मुद्रात थथे ख:-

१) भुमिस्पर्श २) वर ३) छेन्दिता

४) पायल ५) चरण ६) वरदान

३.२ ९० ^{0} डिग्रीया मुद्रा (ninety degree Mudra):

थ:गु शरीरया न्ह्योने अर्थात छातीया सीधा न्ह्योने पाखे कायेगु छुं नं मुद्रात दक्व ९०^0 डिग्री लाका: कायेगु मुद्रात थथे ख:-

१) आलिंगन २) जगत ३) सर्व

४) संसार ५) विद्या ६) ऋद्धि सिद्धि

७) लोकनाभ्यस्तु ८) अभय ९) ज्ञान

१०) सुमरण ११) पुस्तक

३.३ १३५^0 डिग्रीया मुद्रा (Hundred and Thirty Five Degree Mudra):

छातीया च्वय् व छ्योंया क्वय् लाका: कायेगु मुद्रा तयेत १३५^0 डिग्रीया मुद्रा धाई। थज्या:गु मुद्रात थथे ख:-

१) खडगधारी, २) उधारित्, ३) धनुवाण,

४) बन्दिता ५) वदन ६) वर्णादि

३.४ १८०^0 डिग्रीया मुद्रा (Hundred and Eighty Degree Mudra):

छ्योंया च्वस्स लाक्क कायेगु छुं नं मुद्रात १८०^0 डिग्री लाका: कायेमा: । थुकी लाका त:गु मुद्रात थथे ख:-

१) गगन २) अर्धपिंगल ३) जटामुकुट

४) धारिता ५) विरंविरा ६) भयंकर

७) पद्म नृत्य

४. रस

नेपा:या बौद्ध परम्परा कथं चलेजुया च्वंगु थ्व चर्या (चचा) प्याखनय् बिभिन्न देव देवीया रुपय् प्रकट जुईगु गुताजि शास्त्रीय रस (नवरस) मध्यय् मुख्य रूपं स्वता रस प्रकट जुया च्वंगु दु :-

(क) भक्ति रस (ख) वीर रस (ग) करूण रस

४.१ भक्ति रस (Spirituality):

चर्या प्याखनय् छुं नं प्याखँत भक्तिभाव तया:भक्ति पूर्ण जुया: हुलीगु दक्क प्याखँत भक्ति रसय् लाना च्वंगु दु । पञ्च बुद्ध, महामञ्जुश्री इत्यादि प्याखँत भक्तिरसय् हुली । भक्तिरसया सार हे भक्त पिनिगु भक्ति पिज्वयेकेगु खः ।

४.२ वीर रस (Braveness):

स्वये बलय् भयंकरं बल्लाना हृष्ट पुस्तम्ह जुया हुलेगु प्याखँ यात वीररसयुक्त प्याखँ धाई । वज्रपाणी, वज्रयोगिनी, भैरवी, रक्त गणेश, कुमारी, व भैरवकाली इत्यादि फुकं प्याखँ वीररसय् हुली ।

४.३ करुण रस (Compassion):

माया, दया व करूणाया भाव पिकया: हुलीगु प्याखँत फुकं करूण रसय् लाका त:गु दु । नाटेश्वर, आर्यतारा, बसुन्धरा, लोकेश्वर, करुणामय इत्यादि फुकं करूण रसय् हुलीगु प्याखँ खः ।

५. संगीत (Music)

चर्या प्याखनय् संगीतया रूप मुख्य याना: सूर मण्डल व तालया लागी ता: (तिञ्छु) छ्यलेगु याई । चर्या प्याखँया विद्वान, आचार्य व पण्डित तसें दशौं शताब्दी न्ह्यो निसें चर्या प्याखँनय् सितार,खिं, हार्मोनियम, व ता: नं छ्यला वया च्वंगु दु । थ्व प्याखँनय् विभिन्न प्रकारया राग व ताल दु ।

५.१ राग (Rythem)

चर्या प्याखँनय् छ्यलीगु मुख्य राग थथे खः

१) धनाश्री	२) गुञ्जली	३) गोदग्री	४)ललित
५) नट	६) कामोद	७) मालश्री	८)बाहमास
९) भैरवी	१०) मङ्गल	११) वसन्त	

५.२ ताल (Meter)

चर्या प्याखँनय् छ्यलीगु मुख्य ताल थथे खः

दुर्जमान ,चस्पती, षटङ्कार, प्रताल, जटी, चो:, लं, झप, माथ, त्रमान, अष्ट्रा, चोमन, सातमन ताल इत्यादि । चर्या प्याखँ या छगू विशेषता छु धा:सां छगू छगू प्याखँया छगू छगू ताल व राग दया च्वनी । गुगुं प्याखनय् राग 'नट' ताल 'जटी' जूसा मेगु प्याखनय् राग 'गोदग्री' व ताल चाहिं 'षटङ्कार' जुया च्वनी । थथे जुईगु स्वाभाविक खः ।

६. भक्ततयेगु भाव व अठोट: (Determination)

थ्व चर्या प्याखँ धयागु शास्त्रीय परम्परा कथं बिभिन्न प्रकारया देवदेवी पिनिगु रुप धारणयाना हुले मा:गु जूगुलिं प्याखँ हुले न्ह्यो गुम्ह देव देवीया प्याखँ हुलेगु खः उम्ह देव देवीयात एक चितं मनय् तया आराधना याना: ध्यान व प्रार्थना यायेगु अत्यन्त आवश्यक जू । थ्व नाप नापं भक्ति रस नं उलि हे महत्वपूर्ण जू । अले प्याखँ हुले बलय् अति हे भावुक जुया: देव-देवी पिनिगु भाव प्रकट यायेगु अति आवश्यक जू ।

थ्व प्याखँ मेमेगु प्याखँ थें य: य: थे याना सयेके फैमखु । प्याखँ सयेके बलय् नाटेश्वर (नास:द्य:)या पुजा याना भक्ति भावनं थ:त संयुक्तयाना ध्यान भावनं निहित जुया: न्हिथं ध्यान, चिन्तन, मनन याना यायेमा: । थ्व प्याखँ सयेके बलय् परमेश्वर व ईश्वरपिं गुगू गु आशनय् विराजमान जुया च्वंगु खः उगुगु आशन व मुद्रा फयां फछि मिले याये मा: । प्याखँ हुलेबलय् आसन व मुद्रा मिले मजुल कि शुद्ध चर्या प्याखँ

जुईमखु । अकिं चर्या प्याखनय् अध्ययन अनुसंधान या महत्व यकों दु । बिभिन्न ग्रन्थ, पुराण, बाखँ व इतिहाँस आदि बाहेक चर्या प्याखँ सम्बन्धि सफूत अध्ययन नं यायेमाः । थ्व सयेकी पिनिसं जक मखु स्यनीपिनिसं नं एकचितं अध्ययन यायेमाः । गुरु भाव, गुरु श्रद्धा, आदरभाव, सत्कार, सम्मानया नितान्त आवश्यक जू ।

थुकिया नापं फया फक्क देगः व मुर्ति अवलोकन जक मखु पौभाः अध्ययन नं यायेगु अत्यन्त जरुरी जू । थथे अध्ययन अनुसंधान यानागुलिं भेष-भुषा, मुद्रा व आशन इत्यादिया प्रत्यक्ष ज्ञान दयावई । अले प्याखनय् उन्नति याना यंकेत अतिकं भलसा दै । अले थःके दूगु ज्ञान-गुण, भक्ति-भाव, त्याग-तपस्या इत्यादि संयुक्त जूया प्याखँ सयेकेत यकों तिवः दयाः भाव व्यक्त यायेफै । थःके आदर भाव मान्त कि प्याखनय् हिसि व लचक दैमखु ।

७) स्येनेगु पहरा (Training Period):

चर्या प्याखँ स्यनेया लागि सुथसिया ई दको सिबे उचित जू । सुथय् दकले न्हापां गर्मीपना तट्रम उपल्ल यानाली न्ह्या के माः । आधारभूत अभ्यास त्तम्सि छ ऐंषेरचच्छि ऋमिक रूपं तुतिया पतिं, ग्वालि, त्वान्नाः तुति, जं, प्यम्पा, कम्मर, छाति, ब्वः, ल्हाःपतिं, ल्हाः, कक्कु, म्हुतु, म्हुतुसि, मिखा, मिखाफुसि, कपाः, छ्यों इत्यादि म्हया अंग प्रत्यङगया कसरत यायेमाः ।

थथे याये बलय् १ निसें २० तक ल्या खायमाः । थ्व कसरत याना गुलिं म्ह फुर्तिलो (Extra Energy) भावुकता (Feelings) तेजिलोपन (Brightness)दै । थ्व कसरत छघौ याये धुंकाः ५ निसें १० मिनेट तक म्हया लचकता (Molding)या लागि अभ्यास यायेमाः ।

अनंलि बाघौति उप्वः गुगु किस्मिय् चर्या प्याखँ सयेकेगु खः । उज्यःगु प्याखँया देव देवीय्त ध्यानय् तयेमाः, थथे यायेबलय् सम्बन्धित देवदेवीया ,गुणवर्ण, वरदान, आसन, मुद्रा, म्येया खँग्वःत ताल राग वर्ण बस्त्रादिया व्रे एकत्रत जुयाः मनयात एक चित त्त मिदन् चोनचेनततितों याना ध्यान यायेगु जरूरी जू । अले दक्व सिबे लिपा चर्या म्येया खँग्वःया अर्थ पुर्ण रुपय् हयाः पूर्णत मुद्राय् मुद्रित जुयाः त्रिभङ्ग, ताण्डव आलिंघपद, प्रत्यालिंघपद इत्यादि आसन दुने च्वनाः सेयेकेमाः। स्यनामिंनं थ्व हे नियमय् दुने च्वनाः स्यना बीमाः अथवा स्यनेगु ज्या पायृछि जुईक यायेमा । अले तिनि तातुनागु ज्या पुवनी ।

८) चर्या प्याखँया महत्व (Importance of the Charya Dance):

थ्व चर्या प्याखँया थःगुहे मौलिकता दु । गुगु मौलिकता मेमेगु गुगुं प्याखनय् दैमखु । थ्व प्याखँ रागं न्ह्याकाः श्लोकं सिघयेकी अले सगीतात्मक रस दुने च्वनाः हुलेमाः । चर्या प्याखँ नेपाःया थःगु हे सांस्कृतिक कला खः । थ्वयात राष्ट्रिय सम्पदा कथं नेपाः देया राष्ट्रिय प्याखँ नाले बहःजू । अन्तरराष्ट्रिय क्षेत्रय् नं थ्व चर्या प्याखँनं नेपाःयात म्हसीका च्वंगु दु ।

९) लिच्वः (Conclusion)

थ्व चर्या प्याखँया अस्तित्व न्हिया न्हिथं सांस्कृतिक ख्यलय् झीगु संस्कृतिया जः जुया च्वंगु दु । थ्वयात न्ह्यागु यानाँ नं न्हंका छोये मज्यु । अले सम्बन्धित निकाय नं माः कथं ध्यान बिया संरक्षण सम्बर्द्धन याना म्वाका तये माः ।

थ:गु भाय् ल्हानां तुं च्वंसा च्वये नं सइ[1]

दरशा ' नेवामि '

संरा.अ

१. न्ह्यत खँ: (Introduction)

नेपाल भाषा स्यने कने यायेगु इवलय् पंचायत कालय् गुलि तापाना वन धैगु खँ झीसं मस्यूगु मखु । थ्व हे हुर्नि खने दया व:गु ह्यूपा मध्यय् छता थ्व नं ख: - गुलिखे नेवा: मस्तेत मांया मुल्य् तया खँय् भाय् स्यनेगु प्रवृत्ति नेवा: तयेके ब्वलना वल । तर सामाजिक चेतना व राजनैतक ह्यूपा नं याना: थौ नेवा:भाय् नं न्हुगु लं फीगु अवसर वया च्वंगु दु । अयेसां नेवा: भायया महत्व मस्यूपिं व स्यूसां मस्यू छुं याईपिं नेवा: धायेका जातँ न्हाय् तपुईका च्वंपिंनित न्ह्यलं चायेके बीगु हे थ्व च्वसुया मू आज्जु ख: ।

२. मू खँ (Purpose)

थन निता खँ लुमंके बह:जु

१) मां-अबुं मस्तनाप थ:गु भाय् ल्हायेगु याना: तुं च्वँसा मस्तेसँ मल्हाई जक मखु च्वये नं सइ ।

२) नेवा: भाय् सल कि मेगु भाय् ल्हाये सई मखु धैगु धारणा सत्यतां तापागु खँ जक ख: ।

थथे निताजि खँ कया थ्व च्वसु च्वयेगु तातुना च्वना । थन मेगु छता खं छु तने मास्ती व: धासां झी थ:गु हे कमजोरी याना: नेपाल भाषाया दुर्दसा जुया च्वंगु ख: । नेपाल भाषाया आधिकारिक वर्गपिन्सं ई स्वया भाषा ख्यलय् हये मा:गु ह्यूपालय् ध्यान बिया च्वंगु खने मदु । गुकें याना नेवा: युवा तयेत थ:गु मांभाय् संस्कृत स्वया नं थाकूगु भाय् थें जुया च्वन । थ्व कमजोरि सुयागुं मखु न्ह्यलुवा जुया: च्वंपिं भाषा जवा: पिनिगु त:धंसू जुईगु स्वभावं याना: ख: । वास्तवय् सुयागुं छें नेवा भाय् ल्हायेगु बानि दत धा:सा अनयापिं दुज: तयेसं च्वये नं अवस्य सई । तर ख: कथं वा स्यू कथं छ्यलेगु मजुसे स:सा जक छेलेगु जुया च्वन । जातं नेवा: जुया च्वंपिंगु जनसंख्या ३.५ प्रतिशत अले भाय् ल्हाना च्वंपिंगु जनसंख्या २.५ प्रतिशत जक खने दुगुया मू कारण छु ? औपचारिक छेत्रय् नेवा: भाय् छेला यंकेगु पाखे आधिकारिक वर्ग तयेसं याना मच्वंगु कुत: ख: ।

३. ज्वलं (Data)

थन १८दँ दुम्ह छम्ह नेवा: मचां नेवा: भासं कालिम्पोङ निसें अेमेरिकाय् च्वया ह:गु पौ थ्व च्वमिया ल्हातय् ला:गु ख: । थ्व हे पौ मूज्वलं (Data)या रुपय् कया: थ्व च्वसु न्ह्याका च्वना । थ्व पौ च्वया ह:म्हसिनँ मचांनिसेँ अँग्रेजी माध्ययमया स्कूलय् आख: ब्वना: थुगुसी (ने.सं.१११७) तिनि १० कक्षा पासयाना: कलेजय् वंम्ह जुया च्वन । वयात नेवा: भायया नामं औपचारिक कक्षा कायेगु अवसर गुबलेँ हे

[1] *Thahgu bhaaye lhaanaa tun chwonsaa chowe nan sai* ' 'If the native people speak their language they can also be able to write'
Darasha 'Newaami'

चूमला:गु जक मखु स्कूल बाहेक छेपिने नं नेवा: भाय् ल्हायेगु मौका चूमला: । अयेसं नेवा: परिवारय् जन्म जूया थ:त मां अबुं स्वया अपो मतिना बिया लहिना त:पिं अबिभावकपिंगु आदर्श स्वभावं झीसं नेवा: भाये ल्हायेगु त्वते मज्यू धैगु भावनं छ्लें नेवा: भाय् ल्हायेगु मतोतू । थ्व हे छें थ:गु भाय् ल्हाना च्वँगुया लिधंसाय् नेवा: भासं न्हापांगु पौ च्वगु जुया च्वन । थ्व पौ भाय्या वैज्ञानिक अध्ययन यायेत तसकं हे ग्यसु ग्यंगु दसु भापिया: थन थ:गु परिकल्पनायात ब:बी कथं थ्व च्वसुई छ्यला च्वना । पौ थथे ख:-

आदरणीय बा, मा

आकन छपिनौ आशिवार्द न जि, अले दाई कें पि सक्लें म्हफु । आकन न स्कलें म्हफू हें ज्वई धयागु आशा दु । किजा सुदिप अले भिमा पिंत जिकु आशिश अले लुमनति दु धया बियु ।

आकन बा न च्वया हुगु चिठठीपिं छु हें मथनी अखुनु माईला बा न छोया हगु चिठठी जेरोक्स याना छौया हगु दु । माइला बा न चिठ्ठी बाहेक लं, T-shirt, Jeans अलें Raincoat व धिबा नं बिया हल । माइला बा नं नेंपा वा धया हगु तर थन छेंयु अवस्था न याना जिं वने म्फत । माइलाबा न December-Janaury पाखें जम्मा २६००छ्वया हें धुनक थौ समाचार माइलाबा बिं धुनकल हें ज्वई

थन जि आतक College लें Admission मकाईनी कलेज-लें July Month निसें तिनी Admission Open ज्वूई धाईगु न्यना । Homes लें Apply याना त्यगु Seat मरू धका मका । तर न Homes ले Try याना नि च्वना । जि आतक छें अले पसले स्वया च्वनेगु याना च्वना । गबलें Typing Class वनेगु याना च्वना ।

अखुनु, फोन याना हगु सुदिपचा जि नाप फोनलें उस्त बौंलाक खं मल्हा । सुदिप अले भिमा पिनिसं Science काया बोनेगु बिचा: याना चोंगु खं बालागु हें खं । थो खं अखुनु मा फोन ले धागु खं । मेगु च्वे मागु ला छु मरू । थो चिठ्ठी नेवा नं च्वं हयागु नि भुलपिं छुगु निंगु पिंहा वई (शब्द दु) अकें भितिचा मिलें याना बोना दिस । नेवा चिठ्ठी च्वेगु बानी मरूनी Try याना च्वनागु ।

वहे ज्येष्ठ पुत्र

सुबिन

४. विश्लेषण (Analysis)

थ्व पौ नेवा: भासं च्वया त:गु मखु धका सुनानं धाये फै थें मच्वं । तर झी नेवा:तय् परम्परागत व्दपं बीगु चलन अथवा 'भाय् व:' धायेगु विशेषता थ्व पौ लय् मदु धका नं धाये थाय् मदु । अयेसा थथे भाय् व: पह: वया च्वंगु हे थ्व पौया बिशेषता माने याना: लिधंसा कया च्वना । थ्व पौलय् मुक्कंयाना नीस्वंगु खँपु (clause) दुथ्या: । थुके त्यासा खँग्व: दुथ्या:गु व मथ्या:गु याना: खँपु: ब्वथले छिं:-

खँपु: ब्वथला

खँपु: छेला	खँत्वा:ल्या:	प्रतिशत
खँपु:मुक्कं	२३	१००.००
त्यासा: खँग्व: दुथ्यागु	१८	७८.२६
मुक्कं नेवा: खँत्वा:	५	११.८४

थ्व नीस्वत्वा: खँत्वा:लय् निस: व न्हेग: खँग्व: (Words) दु । थ्व खँग्व:यात क्वय् बिया तया कथं ब्वथले छिं ।

खंग्व: ब्वथला

खँग्व छेला	खंग्व:ल्या:	प्रतिशत
मुक्कं	२०७	१००.००
नेवा:	१७०	८२.१२
त्यासा	३७	१८.३५

थन छता खँ छु सी दु धासां निसः व न्हेगः खँग्वः दूगु पौलय् ८३ प्रतिशत नेवाः खँग्वः दुथ्याः अले १८ प्रतिशत जक मेमेगु भासं त्यासा खँग्वः दुथ्याका तःगु दु । अकें नेवाः खँग्वया बाहुल्य दूगुलिं हे थ्व पौ नेवाः भासं च्वया तःगु धाये छिं । त्यासा खँग्वः नं क्रय् बिया तया कथं ब्व थले छिं ।

त्यासा खँग्वः ब्वथला

अंग्रेजी	२५	१२.०७
अ-अंग्रेजी	१३	६.२८

थथे नीन्यागः अंग्रेजी त्यासा खँग्वः अले १३गः अंग्रजी मखूगु दुथ्याः । मचांनिसें अंग्रेजी स्कूलय् आखःव्वना च्वंम्ह जूगुलि अँग्रेजी खँग्वः दुथ्याईगु ला स्वाभाविक हे जुल । अयेसां नं खँत्वाःया संरचना कथं पायेछि थासय् अनेवाः खँग्वः दुथ्याका तःगु दु ।

४.१. छ्यला तःगु भाय्या विश्लेषणः (Analysis of the Text)

पौलय् छेला तःगु भाय् विचाः याये बलय् स्तरीय नेपाल भाषा नाप भचा पाःगु खने दु । थ्व पाना च्वंगु पहः पौया च्वमि यागु निजी विशेषता ला कि साधारण युवा तयेके दया च्वंगु कमजोरी पना खः विचा याये बहः जू । न्हापां थन छेला तःगु ध्वनि अथवा सःचिं (आखः) यागु नि विचाः याये ।

४.१.१ ध्वनि विश्लेषण (Phoneme)

४.१.१.१मा-आखः (Vowels)

सः चिंया विश्लेषण याये बलय् दकले न्हापां मा-आखःया खँ वइ । पौया भाय् लय् छेला तःगु मा-आखः थथे खः-

साधारण मा-आखः	अ आ इ उ ए ओ
ताहा कयेक नवायेगु	ई ऊ

थ्व मा-आखःयात न्हासं थ्वयेका च्वयेमाःगु याना छ्यला तःगु थथे खः ।

न्हासं थ्वयेक नवायेगु	अं आं इं ईं उं एं ओं

थथे साधारण मा आखः छेला तःगु या प्रमुख श्रोत देवनागरी आखःया ज्ञापाखें कया तःगु सी दु । छायधासां पौया च्वमियाके नेपाल भाषाया विशेषता कथं अ, आ ,इ ,उ, ए, ओ फुकं मा-आखः तहाकयेक च्वये ज्यु धैगु मस्यूनि । तर 'इं' व 'उं' या तहाकःगु रूप 'ई' व 'ऊं' या व्यबस्था परम्परागत अनेवाः व्याकरणया प्रभावं मेमेगु मा-आखः नं तहाकेकः च्वये माः धैगु खँय् उलि च्यूता दूगु खने मदु । अथे हे न्हासं थ्वयेका नवायेगु मा-आखःयात फुति चिं (ं) ताहाकयेक व तिमिला बौँ (ँ) चिहा कयेक च्वये ज्यू धैगु नं स्पष्ट जूगु खने मदु । निगः मा-आखः चिना वैगु (Dipthong) मध्यय् अ-उ (औ) जक छ्यला तःगु दु । अइ (ऐ) व 'उइ' नं चिना मा-आखः खः नेपाल भाषाय् । थथे थ्व पौलय् खनेदया च्वंगु कमजोरीयात थौ कन्हय्या युवाःतेगु नेवाः भाय्या मू विशेषता जकं मखुला ? थ्व खँय् नेपाला भाषाया आधिकारिक वुद्धिजीविपिनिसं विचा याये माःगु दु ।

४.१.१.२ **बा-आखःया छ्यला (Consonants):**

थन छेला च्वनागु पौलय् दुथ्याःगु बाः आखःया व्यबस्था थथे खने दु । नेपाल भाषाय् मदूगु आखःयात कोथा चिंलय् ( ) दुथ्याका तयागु दु ।

	साधारण					महाप्राणीकरण				
बा-आखः	क	च	(ट)	त	प	ख	छ	(ठ)	थ	फ
	ग	ज	(ड)	द	ब	घ	झ	(ढ)	ध	भ
	ङ	(ञ)	(ण)	न	म	(ङ्ह)	(ञ्ह)	(ण्ह)	न्ह	म्ह
	य				व		य्ह			व्ह
		(श)		र,ल				(ष)	ह,ल्ह	
				स					ह	

थ्व ब्यबस्था कथं छु सी दु धासां नेपाल भाषाया बा-आखः छु छु खः धैगु च्वमिं बांलाक मस्यूनि । पौलय् 'ट' वर्गया आखः नं छेला तःगु दु । थ्व अनेवाः भाय्या प्रभाव खः । अथे हे महाप्राणिकरण यानाः छेलेमाःगु आखःलय् 'न्ह', 'म्ह', 'य्ह', 'व्ह' व 'ल्ह' या छेलाय् 'म्ह' व 'ल्ह' दु 'य्ह', 'व्ह' व 'न्ह' मदु ।

<u>छेला तःगुपहः</u>	<u>स्तरिय पहः</u>
म्हफु	म्हंफु
खं मल्हा	खँ मल्हाः

चना वैगु आखः लय् 'य' व 'व' या प्रयोग नं खने मदु । छुं दसु थथे खः

	<u>छेला तःगुपहः</u>	<u>स्तरिय पहः</u>
व-चिना	ज्वई	जुई
	च्वया	च्वया
	च्वेमागु	च्वयेमाःगु
	च्वेगु	च्वयेगु
	च्वनागु	च्वनागु
	स्वया	स्वया
	च्वं हयागु नि	च्वया हयागु लिं
य-चिना	बियु	ब्यु
	मथ नि	मथ्यंनि
	न्यना	न्यना
	त्यगु	तयागु

थथे 'य' व 'व' घानाया बाहुल्य द:सां च्वमि याके पायछि कथंया ज्ञां दूगु थें मच्वं ।

४.२. व्याकरणिक खँग्वः (Grammatical Catagories)

पौया भाय्या व्याकरण पाखे मिखा ब्वये बलय् मुक्कं हे ल्हाना भाय्लय् लिकुना च्वंगु सी दु । तर भाषिक संरचना कथं ब्वथला स्वये बलय् यको दुग्यं । थन क्य् बियातया कथं व्याकरणिक खँग्वः ब्वथले छिं ।

<u>व्याकरणिक खंग्वः ब्वथला</u>

संज्ञा खँग्वः	५५	२८.८३
क्रिया खँग्वः	७१	३४.२९
सर्वनाम	१४	४.७६
विशेषण	२	१.२०
व्याकरणिक तंसा(प्रत्यय)	५४	२७.५५

थन छता खँ छु स्पष्ट सी दु धाःसां व्याकरणिक खँग्वःलय् संज्ञा स्वया क्रिया अपो दुथ्याःगु दु । नेपाल भासाय् क्रियाया बाहुल्यता दैगु खः मखु सीकेत मेगु प्रकाशित तथ्यनाप दाजेयाना स्वये वँ तिनि सी दै । अले व्याकरणिक तंसा अथवा Syntactic Catagories या बाहुल्य नं शंज्ञा खँग्वः ति हे दुथ्याःगु खने दु । थुके नं सी दु कि थ्व पौया भाय् मुक्कं हे च्वमिया मां भाय् जुया नेवाः भाय्लय् दयेमाःगु विशेषतां बिलिबिलि जाया च्वंगु दु ।

४.३ पायेछि मजूगु खँ (Error Analysis):

थन छ्यला तःगु खँ ग्वः नेपाल भाषाया स्तर कथं पायृछि जु मजू धासा अवश्य नं विचा याये माःगु दु । थ्व पायेछि जू मजू माला स्वयेगु (Error Analysis) हे थ्व च्वसुया मू आज्जु मध्यय् छता खः। अकें पौलय् छेला तःगु खँग्वः व उकेया स्तरीय रुप न्ह्य ब्वया च्वना ।

<u>छ्यगु खँग्वः</u>		<u>स्तरीय रुप</u>	<u>छ्यगु खँग्वः</u>		<u>स्तरीय रुप</u>
आकन	-	आमकन	छपिनौ	-	छपिनिगु
म्हफू	-	म्हंफु	ज्वई	-	जुई
जिकु	-	जिगु	बियु	-	ब्यु
हगु	-	हःगु	चिठ्ठी	-	चिथि
छौया	-	छोया	धायाहगु	-	धया हःगु
छेंयु	-	छेंयागु	म्फत	-	मफुत
धुनक	-	धुनकल	न्यंना	-	न्यना
ज्वूई	-	जुई	धाईगु	-	धैगु
धका	-	धकाः	मका	-	मकाः
ज्वया	-	जुयाः	मल्हा	-	मल्हाः
काया	-	कया	मा	-	मांनं
फोनले	-	फोनय्	मगु	-	मेगु

छ्यगु खँग्वः	स्तरीय रुप	छ्यगु खँग्वः	स्तरीय रुप
छु -	छुं	च्वं हयागु -	च्वया हयागु
भुलपिं -	भुल-त	छुगु -	छगु
भितिचा -	भतिचा	हगु -	हःगु

थुकथं ३०गः खँग्वः पायेछि मजुईक छ्यला तःगु खने दु । निसः व न्हयेगः (२०७) खँग्वः दुथ्याःगु पौलय् ३० गः पायेछि मजूगु खँग्वः दुथ्याःबलय् १४.४९ प्रतिशत Mistake नाले छिं । थ्व गुबलें मच्वःगु भासं च्वया उलि गल्ति पिहां वःगुलिं च्वमि याके दया च्वंगु मांभाय्या मतिना दूगुया बांलागु दसु खः । थथे हे मेमेपिं युवा तयेके नं भाय्या ज्ञां गुलि दु नापे याये छिं । थ्व नियम अनुसार सुयाके छु भाषिक तत्व (Elements) या म्हो जुया च्वंगु दु निर्धारण यायेत तिवः जुई धैगु विश्वास कया च्वना । थन छेलागु पौलय् खनेदूगु पायूछि मजूगु (Error)या मू कारण निता खने दु :-

१) नेवाः भाय् खः कथँ च्वयेगु नियमया अज्ञानता ।

२) ल्हाना भाय् व च्वया भाय्या व्यवहारिक भिन्नता ।

थ्व परिकल्पना कथं च्वय् बिया तयागु खँग्व विचाःयायेबलय् च्वया तःगु पौया आधारं च्वमियाके नेपाल भाषाया ज्ञां बारे थी थी नियम ब्वलना वई । दसु कथं थथे खः-

४.३.१) मा आखःया छ्यला (Vowel Quality)

च्वमियाके मा आखःया ज्ञां दःसां पुमवंगु सी दु । पायूछि कथं च्वये मसःनि । थन गनं गनं मा आखःया हिला बुला जुया च्वंगु दु ।

मा-आखःया हिला-बुला		छ्यःगु		स्तरीय रुप
अ ----आ	जूगु	काया	-	कया
अ ----उ	जूगु	छुगु	-	छगु
ए ----अ	जूगु	मगु	-	मेगु
ओ -- अउ	जूगु	छौया	-	छोया
अ -- इ	जूगु	भितिचा	-	भतिचा

४.३.१.१. अनुस्वरया छ्यला (Nasalization)

अनुस्वरया छेला पायेछि कथँ जूगु खनेमदु । नेपाल भासाय् अनुस्वर भाषातात्विक कथं ब्यतिरेकी भिन्नताया विशेषता खः धैगु खँ मस्यूनि गुलिं तःहाकयूक फुति चिं (-) व चिहा कयेक तिमिला बौं (ँ) या छेला बांलाक छेला तःगु सी मदु ।

छ्यःगु	स्तरीय रुप	छ्यःगु	स्तरीय रुप
आकन	आमकन	छु	छुं
मा	मांनं	म्हफू	म्हंफु
च्वं हयागु	च्वया हयागु		

४.३.१.२.) विसर्गया छ्यला (Vowel Length)

नेपाल भासाय् निफुति(विसर्ग)चिं गाक्क हे छेलेमा: छायधा:सां थ्व ब्यतिरेकी भिन्नताया विशेषता खः । गन गन आखः दुसुना च्वनी अन अन निफुति चिं तयेगु अत्याधुनिक नेपाल भाषाया विशेषता खः । थन पौया च्वमि थ्व निफुति चिं छेलेगुली अनभिज्ञ तिनि । क्यय् बियातयागु छुं खँग्वः विसर्ग छ्यलाः च्वयेगु चलन दु ।

छ्यःगु	स्तरीय रुप	सुला च्वंगु आखः
धका	- धकाः	वं
मका	- मकाः	वं
ज्वया	- जुयाः	वं
मल्हा	- मल्हाः	वं
धायाहगु	- धया हःगु	वं
नेपा	नेपाः	लं
नेवा	नेवाः	रं

नेपाल भाषायात भाषा वैज्ञानिक मिखाँ स्वये बलय् ताहाकयेक नवाये माः थाय् न्ह्याथासं नं विसर्ग तये ज्यू तर देवनागरी आखः छेला वया च्वंगुलिं 'इं' व 'उं' या ताहा:गु रूप 'ई' व 'ऊं' दया च्वंन । थ्व निगः आखःलय् विसर्ग तयेगु चलन मदु तर 'इः' व 'उः' छेला यंकूसा 'ई' व 'ऊ' आखः म्हं चायेका यंके ज्यू । थन पौया भाय् लय् ताहा चिहा याना विसर्ग छेलेगु जक मखु परम्परागत कथं ह्रस्व दीर्घया नियम नं उलि पायेछि जूगु खने मदु । दसु कथं छुं खँग्वः थथे दु ।

छ्यःगु	स्तरीय रुप
बि धुनकल	बी धुंकल
मकाईनी	मकयानि
तिनी	तिनि
चिठ्ठी	चिथि
पिहावई	पिहाँ वै (वइ)
बानी मरुनी	बानि मरुनि

४.३.२) घोस अघोसया छ्यला (Devoicing)

च्वमियाके बिषेशयाना मानवेतर ब्वथला ग्वः तँसा '-गुं' या छेला । कु । वा । उ । जुया च्वंगु दु । थ्व जूगुया मू कारण नवायेगु भाय् गथे ख अथे छेला तःगुलिं खः ।

छ्य:गु	स्तरीय रुप
जिकु	- जिगु
छेंयु	- छेंयागु

थुकें छु सी दु धासां नेपाल भाषायात अपुक च्वया यंकेगु नियमाबलीया सफू नेपाल भाषां जक मखु शिक्षाया माध्ययम जुया च्वंगु भासं नं च्वये मा:गु दु अले तिनि ब्यापक रुपं च्वयेगु सयेका काई । थौ कन्हय् गुलि नं ब्याकरण पिहां वै च्वन केवल नेपाल भाषा च्वये ब्वने स:पिन्त जक ज्या खेले जू । च्वये ब्वने मस: पिन्त " कालो अक्षर भैसी बराबर " थें जुया च्वन । थुकें याना सयेके मं दुपिंत संस्कृत स्वया: नं थाकुया च्वन ।

४.३.३. 'ट' व 'त' या छ्यला (Retroflex and Dental /t/)

नेपाल भाषाय् निथी कथं या 'ट' वर्गया ध्वनि मदु धैगु पौया च्वमिं मस्यूनि । अकें मेमेगु भाषाय् छेला त:गु शब्द गथे ख: अथे तुं छेला: त:गु दु । (थ्व खँ पुवंक सीकेत च्वमिया च्वसु ' न्हसला ' १५ सं स्वया दिसँ) ।

चिठ्ठी - चिथि

४.३.४. चिना खँग्व:या छ्यला (Consonant Clusters)

नेपाल भाषाय् 'य' व 'वं' नाप मेमेगु बा आख: चिना वैगु यको दु । अले पौया च्वमि याके थुकेया दुग्यंक ज्ञान मदु निगु सी दु । 'म' व 'ल' ध्वनिया महाप्राणी रूपं 'म्ह' व 'ल्ह' या छ्यला पायेछि कथं जूसां तालबीकरण व ओष्ठिकरणया नियम क:घाना च्वयेगुली पुमवंनिगु सी दु ।

छ्य:गु		स्तरीय रुप
बियु	-	ब्यु
ज्वया	-	जुया:
च्वं हयागु	-	च्वया हयागु
मथनी		मथ्यंनि
म्फत		मफुत

थन चिना: मच्व:सां ज्यूगु छुं खँग्व: नं दुथ्या: । अले त्यासा खँग्वलय् चिना वैगु आख:यात थन उल्लेख यानागु मदु । थुगु प्रकारं चिना आख:या नियम बांलाक क:घाना त:गु सीमदु ।

४.३.५. वाक्यात्मक तँसाया छ्यला:(Syntactic Catagories)

थन च्वय् न्ह्यथनागु पौया लिधंसा कथं च्वमियाके नेपाल भासाया ब्याकरणिक नियम पायेछि कथं छेला त:गु द:सां ध्वनि या थी थी रुपं याना खँग्व: हे फरक थें खने दया च्वन ।

४.३.५.१, कारक (Case Marks)

कारक जक पायछि कथं छेला त:गु दु मदु विचा: याये । नेपाल भाषाया कारक व्यवस्थानुसार सप्तम विभक्तिसं सं लितंसा घायेगु खँ परम्परागत व्याकरणय् उल्लेख जुया च्वंगु दु । तर अत्याधुनिक नेपाल भाषाया पह: कथं '-यं , '-इं तंसा तयेगु चलन दु । थन अथे छ्यला त:गु मदु ।

छ्य:गु	स्तरीय रुप	व्याकरणिक तँसा	ब्वथला नां
फोनले -	फोनय्	कारक	अधिकरण
होम्स ले	होम्सय्	, ,	, ,
छपिनौ -	छपिनिगु	, ,	सम्बन्ध
छेंयु	छें-यागु	, ,	, ,
बा न	बा:नं	, ,	कर्ता
आशिरवाद न	आशिरवादं	, ,	करण
भिमा पित	भिमापिन्त	, ,	सम्प्रदान

थ्व दसु कथं छु सी दु धा:सां ल्हाना भाय्या रुप च्वया भाय् ले पायेछि मजू । च्वय् बिया तयागु दसुई 'छपिनौ ' व ' छेंयु ' खँग्व: ल्हाना भाय् कथं पायेछि जू । तर च्वया भाय् कथं 'छपिनिगुं व 'छें-यागुं च्वयेमा । थज्यागु भिन्नता न्ह्यागु भाषाय् नं दया च्वनी । मेमेगु कारक प्रत्यय नं ख:गु थासय् छेला त:सां ल्हाना भाय्या प्रभावं भिन्न रुप खने दु तर ज्ञां मदया मखु ।

४.३.५.२. वचन (Number)

नेपाल भाषाय् त:ताजि थुईकिगु बहु वचन प्रत्येय (लितंसा) निताजि दु । छता सर्वनाम व सम्बन्ध वाचक संज्ञा नाप घाना वैगु '-पिं ' अले मेगु साधारण प्रत्येय '-त ' ख: । थन छ्यलागु पौलय् '-त ' छेलात:गु खने मदु । थ्व अज्ञानतां जुईफु ।

छ्य:गु	स्तरीय रुप
दाइ केहें पिं -	दाइ केहें पिं
भुल पि -	भुल-त
चिठी-पिं -	चिथि-त

थथे बिभिन्न कथंया नियम पायेछि मजुईक पौ च्वया त:गुलिं थ्व बं:चा हाक:गु पौयात दसु कथं छ्यला च्वना । थुके माला स्वयेवं मेमेगु नं खँत लुया वई । क्रियाया छेलाय् नं ध्वनि फरक जूगुलिं छुं छुं क्रियाया रुप स्तरीय स्वया फरक दु । तर खँपुया नियम कथं फरक खने मदु । अकें थुकेया विश्लेषण यायेगु विचा: मयाना । थ्व ज्या सुना नं याना यंकूसां ज्यू ।

५. लिच्व: (Conclusion)

थन थुलि हे खँया लिधंसाय् पुवंगु लिच्व च्वये मछिं अकें च्वमिया मेमेगु दसु कथं हानं हानं च्वैगु पौया विश्लेषण याये द:सा थथे

हे खः धका लिच्वः न्हय थने छिं । तर थ्व च्वसुया मू आज्जु विश्लेषण जक जूगुलिं च्वमिया नेपाल भाषाया ज्ञां बारे लिच्व न्ह्य थने मछिं । थन लुमंके बहःगु खँ छु धासां नेवाः भाय् ल्हानां तुं च्वंसा मस्तेसं अवस्यनं सयेके फु तर स्यना बीपिं हे अनेवाःपन केनाः मस्तेत हीस्याये थें " हारां भन्छ है अरुले " धकाः च्व प्वो मदुपिं मां-अबु पिनसं हे मसः मसः खँय् भाय् ल्हाना क्यंसा दोष सुयागु जुई मस्तेगु लाकि मां-अबु यागु । थन छेलागु पौया च्वमिया सम्पर्क भाय् नेपाली व अंग्रेजी खः । तर छेंया भाय् जक नेवाः खः । उलि हे ल्हाना च्वंगु भाय्या लिधंसाय् अथे पौ च्वये फःसा जनगणना काःवैपिं मनू तयेत नेवाः भाय् ल्हाय् सः धका न्हाय् तपुईका जवाफ बीफै । नत्र मस्तेसं भाय् मल्हाः धका मस्तेत तुं दोष बियां थःगु न्हाय् गाथे याना त्वपुईगु ? इमित धाई न्हाय् ध्यनं स्वर्ग मखंपि धकाः ।

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नेपाल नृतत्वः छपुलु[1]

(थारू व नेवाःतयेगु स्वापू)

देविचन्द्र श्रेष्ठ
नेपाः

झीसं ' नेपाल भाषा ' धया च्वना थें ' नेपाल नृतत्व ' धाये मफुनि । ' नेपाल नृतत्वं व नेपाल भाषा ' धैगु छगू हे कोथाया निपाः झ्याः खः पूर्व व पश्चिम स्वःगु । गुबलेतक निपालं झ्याः चाली मखु अबले तक कोथाय् दुने यच्चुसे च्वनि मखु । आतक झीसं नेपाल भाषाया झ्याः जक चायेकेगु स्वया च्वना । वनं पुवंक चायेके फूगु मखुनि । नेपाल भाषाया उद्‌भव गुबले जुल झीगु इतिहासया गूगु कालय् थ्व भाषा पिदंगु खः धैगु छुं मस्यूनि । थुकी वात्तु वालाः स्वैपिं भाजुपिं नं सुं खने मदुनि । भावुक जुया खँ ल्हाइपिं जक झीथाय् खने दया च्वन । भावुक साधना यानाः पिकाइपिं साधकत ला दहे मदुनि धाःसां ज्यू । नेपाल भाषा गुलि पुलांगु खः थ्व भाषाया उत्पति गथे जुयाः पिदंगु खः धैगु आतक विज्ञान लसि वःगु खँ ल्हाइपिं सुं झी न्हयनय् च्वंवःगु मदुनि । थुखेर दु वालाः स्वइपिं छाय् आतक नं सुं हे न्हय्चू मवल ? थुकिया च्यूताः सुयाकें मदु ?

भाषा धैगु ला छगू नाद जक खः । तर थ्व नाद पिकाःपिं आदी मनू सु खः ? थ्व न्ह्यसःया लिसः झित माःगु दु । छथ्वः झीथाय् थज्यागु अःपूगु खं ल्हाइपिं दु । गुम्हसियां धाई ' नेपाल भाषां या आदि मनू नेवाःत खः । थथे हे जुयाः थ्व भाषा यात नेवाःभाय् (नेवारी भाषा) धकाः हये स्यानाः वया च्वंगु दु । थ्व खस तयेगु धापू खः विजेताया स्वाङ जक खः । अथे हे थ्व खँय् छ्यं ल्हुकु ल्हुकु संकीपिं नेवाःत म्हो मजू । थःगु राष्ट्रीयताया मानक मदुपिं कायर तयेगु पहः थुमिके यकों सी दु । थ्व खँ झी फुकसिनं वाः चायेके माःगु दु ।

नेपाल भाषा ल्हाईपिं आदि मन्हुत सु खः धकाः न्हिपं जक ज्वना क्यनीपिं सुं नं वये फै मखु । थ्वला झी जःखःयागु इतिहासया प्वाथय् वात्तु वालः स्वये मानिगु खँ खः । थ्व इतिहास धाःसा राजनैतिक इतिहास मखु न थ्व आर्थिक इतिहास हे खः । थ्व खः नेपाल नृतत्वया इतिहास (Anthropological History of Nepal) । नेपाल नृतत्वया खँ पिहाँ मवःतले नेपाल भाषाया उत्पति व विकासया नं खँ ल्हाये फैमखु । नेवाःभाय् = नेपाल भाषा = नेवाःतसें ल्हाइगु भाय् = नेवारी भाषा । थज्याःगु समीकरण छ्यलेबलय् तप्यंक मूखँ न्ह्यने खने दत धाःसा नेवाः धयापिं सु खः ? धैगु न्ह्यसः पिहाँ वइ । छु थ्व नेवाः धाये वं हे तामाङ, गुरुङ, शेर्पा, मगर, अथवा खस धायेथें हे जक खः ला ? थ्व हे न्ह्यसःया लिसः थुईके माला च्वंगु दु । नेपालया प्रशासन केन्द्र स्वनिगलय् गोर्खाली वयाः त्याकुसेंलि थन यापिं रैथानी तयेत नेवार जात धकाः थः यस्सें फयगुलि नां छूगु खः । नेपाःया थ्यं मथ्यं २५०० दँया इतिहासय् नेवाः जात अथवा जाती क्येने फुम्ह इतिहासकार न्ह्यच्यू मवःनि थ्व झीसं थुईके माःगु खँ खः ।

गोरखालीतसें थन स्वनिगलय् वयाः जक मखु थन दुहां वय् न्ह्यवः निसें हे थःत नेवारकरण यानाः वया च्वंगु खँ यकों यकों दु । नेपाल संस्कृति स्वीकारयात कि ' नेवार करण ' धकाः धायेमा । थथे नेवार करण जुया वः पिन्सं थनया राजनैतिक कासाया विजयया गौरव तना वयाः नेपाःया राष्ट्रिय मूल प्रवाहलय् हना च्वंपिंत भाषिक ब्यागलं या खँ कयाः छगू जन जाती परिणत यायेगु दुःसाहस याना हल । म्हिगः तवक नेपाल मण्डलया प्रतिनिधित्वं याना वःपिं अथवाः हामा जुया वःपिं राष्ट्रिय समुदाय अथवा पुलांगु वर्गयात हे छगू जनजातित्वया संकीर्ण दृष्टि स्वयेगु राजनैतिक दुःसंस्कार दुबिना वल ।

[1] Nepal Nritatwa Chhapulu ' Nepal Anthropology: Preliminary Report' Devi Chadra Shrestha

गोरखालीतय् शासन मण्डल खस प्रधान खः । तर फुक्कं गोखालीत खस मखु । अथेहे खस धायेवं तुं हे गोरखाली त जक नं मखु । नेपालय् 'खस भाषी ' खँयूत गांया तंय् तयाः लहिना तःपिं हे नेवाःत खः । नेपाःया जनसंख्या मध्यकालय् हे 'खस बहुल ' जुया च्वंगु खने दु । थुपिं फुवकं पश्चिमावर्गय् लाना च्वंगु । दु थुमिके थनया राजनैतिक पद छुं छुं ला लाकाबिया च्वंगु नं खः । तर मूल प्रवाहलय् मलाःनि । गोरखालीत खस मखु । थ्वहे पश्चिमा वर्ग अथवाः जन समुदाय बहुलतं यानाः पृथ्वीनारायण शाहया राजनैतिक तमासा बल्लागु खने दु । थुकिं हे वयात नेपाःया मूल प्रवाहलय् दुथ्याका बिल । अनंलि तमाम पश्चिम वर्गत नेपाल संस्कृती बिलीन जुयाः स्वतः नेवार करणय् लात । शासनया भाषा छगू जक हिल । शासकीय मण्डल खस बहुल जुल । तर जनजातिया खँ पिथनेगु खःसा खस जनजाती हे जक खनेदु ।

थुकीया हे कारणं नेपाःया राजनैतिक कासा त्यला कायेवं मूल थासय् च्वना च्वंपिं रैथानी वर्ग पुलांगु जनसमुदाय जक नेवार धायेगु यात धाःसा थःपिं गोरखालीया खस जुया च्वने माल । नेपालया प्रतिनिधित्व यायेफै मखुत । नेवार धयागु हे एतिहासिक रूपं नेपाल मण्डलया प्रतिनिधित्व याःगु खँग्वः खः । थ्व खँ अन्तरराष्ट्रिय दमनअनुसार नं तिप्यंगु दु । अथे हे जुयाःलि अंग्रजतसें ' नेपाल राज, नेपाल सरकार' धकाः गोरखाली तयेत अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय मान्यता बिल । तर थ्व खँ मथूपिं गोरखली तयेसं थःत थंमं क्वतिना 'गोरखा-राज' धका अख्तिहार ब्वयेगु ज्या याःगु जुल ।

थथे राजनैतिक कुसंस्कारया खँ थुइके धुंकाः नेपाल नृतत्वया खँ न्ह्यथने माल । नेपाल नृतत्वया खँयू दुवाला स्वये बलय् दकले न्हापां कृषक वर्ग नि न्ह्यथने माः । थ्व कृषकवर्ग ज्यापुत खः । स्वनिगलय् यें, यल, ख्वप न्ह्याथसं दकसिबे अपोगु जनसंख्या ज्यापु तयेगु दु । थुकीया दसि कथं येंदे छगू जक स्वयां गाः । थ्व राजधानी दुने स्वी निगू (३२) त्वाः दु । थ्व स्वीनिगू त्वालय्या स्वी निथ्वः ज्यापु तयेगु समुदाय मध्यकालय् दकसिबे अपोगु जनसंख्याया जुयाच्वन । नेपाल भाषाया अन्तर्रात्मा नं थ्व हे खः ।

थ्व ज्यापुत नृतत्व कथं सु खः ? वाला स्वये माल । नेपाःया बुंज्या याईपिं कृषक तयेगु दक्कसिबे तःधंगु समुदाय जुया कुल जनसंख्यायात यको प्रभाबित याईपिं थुपिं हे खः । यें थुपिं बौध्द वा बुध्दमार्गी नं खः । बौद्ध धर्म प्रसारया इतिहास स्वये बलय् थ्व खँ तप्यंक सी दु । बौद्ध धर्म व्रात्मवर्गयात (संस्कार हीन जाति वा जन समुदाय) प्रभावित याना वया च्वंगु दु । हिमालयया जःखः बौद्ध धर्मया मूल कारण नं थ्व हे खः । ज्यापुत न्हापा न्हापा व्रात्मवर्गय् लाःगु खनेदु । थ्व बुंज्या म्हालासाला यायेत थुपिं थन वःगु खने दु । थ्व बुंज्या यायेत चितवन पाखेँ नेपालय् दुहाँ वःयाः ज्यापु संगठनय् थ्याकूगु जुल । नेपालया नृतत्व भूगोल स्वये बलय् उदयपुर, दाङ, सुर्खेतया जनी(बेलत) असुर बहुल खः । थ्व हे असुर वर्गतयेत 'थारू' धकाः नृतत्वय् म्हसीका वया च्वंगु दु । थ्व शव्द संस्कृतया 'थर्वन ' धातुं पिज्वया च्वंगु खने दु । थुकिं थाय् बाय् हिला जुईगु प्रवृत्तियात क्यनी । थ्व प्रवृति अर्थात स्वभाविक गुण थारूतयेके दु ।

भौगोलिक क्षेत्र विभाजन कथं महाभारत पर्वत श्रृंखलाया दक्षिण पाखे भावर (चूरय्) वारपार यानाः वस्ती बिकास, मानव विकास प्राग ऐतिहासिक कालंनिसें हे जुया च्वंगु सी दु । थ्व भौगोलिक क्षेत्र थारू अथवा असुर तयेगु खः । लिच्छबी कालय् हे थारु बस्ती विकास नेपालय् जूगु प्रमाण लुया वयाः च्वंगु दु । यलया वादे च्वंगु लिच्छवी जुजु शिव देवं तया थकूगु अभिलेखय् 'थरू दुङ' धैगु उल्लेख जुया च्वंगु दु । थ्व अभिलेखया सान्दर्भिक अंश थथे खः-

> " स्वस्ति मान गृहादपरिमित यशा वद्ध (पादानुध्यातो
> लिच्छवी कुल) केतु भट्टारक महाराज श्री शिवदेवः
> (कुशली-) (थरु दुङ नि) वासिनः प्रधान पुरस्सरान
> कुटुम्बिनः कशलमा भाश्य समा ज्ञापयति विदितम्भवतु
> भवतां यथेस्थरु दुङगे .... मत्स्येपक्रयङ् कृत्वा प्रतिनि
> वर्तमानानाम् .... वैशाख शुक्ल पञ्चम्याम .... "

व्यापारया दृष्टिं बिकसित जुई धुंकूगु बस्तियात 'दुङ' धाई । थारुत आपालं दयाः थारू बहुल दुङ यात 'थरु दुङ' धायेगु यात । थ्व अभिलेखयागु संबत ज्यला वने धुंकूसां शिवदेवया समसामयिक घटना विचार यायेबलय् थुकीया संवत शक ५१२-५१५ पाखे यागु सी दु । थ्वया समकाल वि.सं. ६५०(ई.सं. ५९३) खने दु । उगु ताकय् वादे छगू दुङया रुपय् विकसित जुई धुंकूगु दु । थ्व छगू जक उदाहरण जुल अथे हे तुं उगुइलय् मेमेथाय् बस्ती दयेफु । थथे हे थारू तयेगु बिस्तार जुजुं व्यापक नेपाल उपत्यकाय् थुपिं न्यना वन । अझ पिने पिनें नं थुपिं हे विस्तार जुयावन ।

नृतत्व शास्त्र कथं थारू त असुर वर्गय् लाना च्वंगु खं च्वये न्ह्य थने धुन । इमिगु अतीतयात कयाः मध्य एशियाया 'आसेरिया ' (सिरिया) तक नं थ्यंकेफु । लिच्छवी लिपा मध्यकालय् थमिगु नेपाल प्रवेश अझ च्वय् च्वय् थ्यंगु खने दु । थुकी दक्कसिबे आपाः खने दूगु संख्या स्थिति मल्लया पालय् जुल । स्थिति मल्लया प्रशस्तिया खँय् ' असुर नारायण ' धैगु खँग्वः दया च्वंगु दु । थ्व खँग्वःलं थारु तयेत नेपालय् दुत हयाः बुं ज्या याकूगु घटना यात कयाः संकेत बिया च्वंगु दु । थ्व प्रशस्ति थथे खः -

> " स्वस्ति श्री म नेपालिक सम्बत ५१२ वैशाख कृष्ण षष्टीया ति थौ । गर करणे । विश्व र्मुहुत श्रवण नक्षत्रय् ऐन्द्र योगये । आदित्य वासरे । ॥ श्री ललित पतन नगरोतमे श्री श्री मन्मणि कुमार सप्त फणा वली मणि किरण संघोकाये मान श्री नाग राजा धिष्ठिते ॥ परमेश्वर परम भट्टारक श्री माने श्वरी वर लब्ध प्रसाद असुर नर नारायण आदि विध्वि विरु दावली पूर्वक समस्त) श्रिया समलंकृत महाराजा धिराज श्री श्री मन् जय स्थिति राज मल्ल देवेन संभुज्य (राज्ये) "
>
> - ललितपुर कुंम्भेश्वरको अभिलेख

थ्व ऐतिहासिक प्रमाणयात आः झीसं भाषा शास्त्रीय अध्ययनं नं स्वयेमाः । उकिं नेपाल भाषाय् थारू खँग्वःया प्रभाव गुलितक दु धकाः वालाः स्वये माःगु जुल । थ्व अध्ययनया लागी जनजीवनया अत्यन्त सामान्य खँयात कयाः झीसं छ्याना स्वये माल । न्हिया न्हिथंया थारू जीवन शैलीयात कयाः छ्यला वया च्वंगु खँग्वलं थ्व अध्ययनयात तिवः जुईगु तातुना । थन थारू भाय्या छुं छुं खं ग्वः न्ह्यथना च्वना गुगु खँग्वः नेपाल भाषाय् नं ज्वःला अलें ब्यूत्पति मालेत यकों तिवः जुईगु तातुना ।

१) कलवा :- छम्ह थारूया सुथः न्हापां दनाः बुंज्याः यानाः ज्या दियेवं नयेमाल । थ्वयात 'कलवा' धाई । थ्व 'कलवा' खँग्वलं झीगु 'कौला' खँग्व ल्ह्यना च्वंगु जुल ।

२) वैरी :- न्हि छि ज्या यानाः बहःनि जुल कि नये माल 'वैरी '। थ्व हे वैरी शव्द नेपाल भाषाय् 'ब्यलिं' (बहनि नयेगु जा) जुल । थन 'लं' व 'रं' या हिला-बुला जुईगु भाषा वैज्ञानिक नियम लुमंके बहःजू ।

३) आजा-अजि :-थारूत धैपिं न्हापा न्हापा संयुक्त परिवार हनीपिं खः। थुमिगु परिवारय् बाज्या नं बौयात 'आजा' धाई । अले आजाया स्त्री लिङ 'आजी ' खः । थ्व आजा आजि खँ ग्वलं हे नेपाल भाषाया आजु अजाजु अजी अजिमा, अजिमाजु आदि खँ ग्वःत ज्वःलागु दु ।

४)मनई :- थारू तयेसं थः थःयात जाति वाचक खँग्वः 'मनई ' धकाः धाई । थ्व हे मनई खँ ग्वलं नेपाल भाषाय् 'मन्हु' जूगु जकं मखुला ? झीसं आः सुं छम्ह वल कि 'मनू वल' धकाः धया वै च्वनागु दनि ।

५) **कतकरी** :-थारू तयेगु मूज्या वा पियेगु खः । वा सईवलय् फुसुलु जुल धायेवं 'कतकरी' धाई । थुकिं हे नेपाल भाषाया 'कःलिं' शव्द लच्छना च्वंगु मखुला ?

६) **थक्करा** :-थारू मिसातयेसं सँ छ्यने माल कि 'थक्करा' माः जुई । अले चिचि पूगु कथि झार प्वाँय् चिनाः दयेकीगु 'थक्करा' स्वयेवं झित लुमना वै 'थकूं' अथवा 'थकूचा' । थ्व शव्दय् नं भाषा तात्विक विशेषता कथं छुं सम्बन्ध दयेमाः ।

७) **खोरिया** :- नसा नये बलय् छम्ह थारूं थ्वं त्वनेत 'खोरिया' माःजुई । थ्व हे खोरिया नेपाल भाषाय् 'खोला' अथवा 'खोल्चा' जूगु सी दु ।

८) **घच्छि** :-थारू भासं छुं भतिचा ईब्यःयात कयाः धाईगु थारू खँग्वः 'घच्छि' धाये थें तुं नेपाल भाषाय् 'घौ छिं' धायेगु चलन दु । थ्व 'घच्छि' खँग्वः गुबले गुबले 'घच्चि' नं जू । थ्व समय वाचक थारू प्रत्यय 'चिं' अथवा 'छिं' नितां छ्यला च्वंगु खने दु । अथेहे नेपाल भाषाय् नं 'छिं' छेला वया च्वंगु दुः-

ला -> ला + छि -> लछि

दँ -> दँ + छि -> दछि

९) **कौचा** :- नेपाल भाषाया छुद्र वी खँग्वः 'चा' प्रत्यय नं थारू तयेगु त्यासा खने दु । खँ छु खः धका न्यनेत 'कौचा' अले थ्व हे धका निश्चित याये मफैबलय् 'उचा' खँ ग्वः थौ कन्हय् नं छेला च्वंगु दु । थ्व हे 'उचा' वा 'कौचा' या लितंसा 'चा' नेपाल भाषाय् साचा, दुगुचा, खाचा, रामचा खँग्वलय् छुद्र वाची प्रत्ययया रुपय् 'चा' घायेगु चलन दु । थुकी यात थारू भाय् या लच्छं पुलच्छं विशेषता कथं नाले छिं । तर थौ कन्हय् थ्व 'चा' प्रत्यय नं लोप जुयाः 'वा' जुया च्वंगु दु दक्षिण भेगयापिं थारू तयेके । थुकिं सी दु कि थारूत दक्षिणपाखे थाय् हिला वंलिसे भाषाया रूप नं हिला वन ।

१०) **न्यङना** :- च्वये न्ह्यथनागु खँग्वःत व्याकरण कथं संज्ञा खः । अथे हे क्रिया पदय् नं लच्छं पुलच्छं विशेषता दयाच्वंगु खने दु । थथे क्रियावाची खँग्वः माला स्वये बलय् छगू तसकं हे अजुचाया पूगु खँग्वः लच्छं दनि ' थ्व खः 'ङायेगु '। थ्व क्रिया थारू भासं दुहाँ वःगु खने दु । थारू भाय्या क्रिदन्त 'न्यङना' द हे दनि । थुकीया धातु रुप 'न्यङ' खः । नेपाल भाषाया न्यासि वनेगु , न्यासि वयेगु, न्यासि जुयेगु आदि क्रिया पदया मूल स्रोत थारू तयेगु 'न्यङ' धातु हे खः ।

११) **तोपना** :- नेपाल भाषाया क्रिया पद 'तोपुयेगु' या नं थारु क्रिया 'तोप' धातु लिसे सम्बन्ध दु । थ्व हे तोप धातुं ' तोपना ' व नेपाल भाषाय् 'तोपुयेगुं' क्रियां छगू हे अर्थ बिया च्वंगु दु । अकें थ्व 'तोप' धातुं नेपाल भाषाय् 'तोपुलि' जुया च्वंगु जुल ।

१२) **तिन्हो** :- अथे हे 'तिन्हुईगु ' क्रिया नं थारु तयेगु 'तिन्हो' लिसे स्वापु खने दु ।

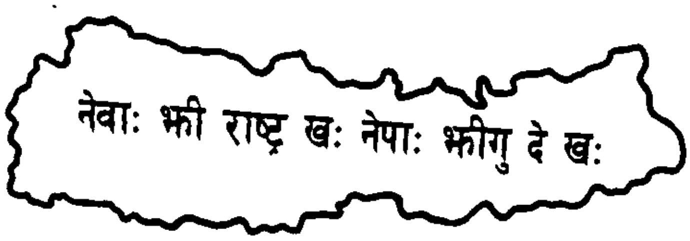
सारांस कथं छु धायेफु धाःसां थन न्ह्यथनागु गुलि नं खँ ग्वःपाखें नेपाल भाषा व थारू भाय् लिसे यकों सम्बन्ध दूगु सी दु । थ्व बारे यको यको माले ज्या याये मागु दु । नेपाल भाषाया ऐतिहासिक अध्ययन याइपिन्त थ्व तसकं महत्वपूर्णगु विषय जुईगु तातुना । थन आतक मुनागु दसि मध्ये स्वापू दूगु खँग्वःया धलः च्वये न्ह्यथनागु जुल ।

थुगु कथं भाषा शास्त्रीय अनुशीलन याना नेपाल नृतत्वया छगू अंश प्वलेत स्वयागु खः। नेपालय् दक्षिण पाखे थारु तयेगु प्रवेश जुयाः इमिसँ क्रमशः थन बुंज्या यायां थनया ज्यापु बर्गय् परिणत जुल । अथे जूसां थमं ज्वना वयागु भाषाया अत्यन्त प्रचलित खँग्वःत थनया हे मूलभाषा नेपाल भाषाय् दुध्याका ब्यूगु खने दु । इमित न्हापा न्हापा असुर जाति माने याना वया च्वंगुलिं मध्यकालय् इमित संरक्षण याःम्ह जुजुयात 'असुर नारायण ' धायेगु नं इतिहासं प्रमाणित याः ।

झीगु देशय् थारू जनजातीया लजगाः हनेत थाय्बाय् हिलेगु सामुहिक चरित्रया छगू अध्ययन यानाः न्ह्यथनागु खः । थारूतयेसं थन नेपाःगालय् दुहाँ वया नेपाल भाषा नाला काये धुंसेलि नेवाः जुया नं थःगु कोसःया रुपय् भाषाया छुं छुं दैनिक खँग्वःत ल्यंकाः नेपाल भाषायात हे ब्वलंका ब्यूगु खने दु । थथे प्रागऐतिहासिक असुर जाती प्राचीन कालय् थारू जनजाती जुया च्वंगु नं सी दु । लिपा मध्यकालय् वयाः लजगाः हनेत थाय् वाय् हिलाः जुईपिं धकाःथर्वन धातुया थारू संज्ञा दयेकाः छगू जनजाती क्यना बिल । नेवाः जुई धुंसेलि इपिं नं स्थाई बसोबासया अधिकारय् दुहाँवल । थुपिं नेपाल मण्डलया केन्द्र स्थानय् दुहाँ वयाः नेपाः गाःयात हे बुंज्याया केन्द्र नं यानाः थुपिं ज्यापु जुल । थ्व छगू नेपाःया सामाजिक व आर्थिक स्थिति थकाईपिं छगू वर्गया मनूत सिद्ध जुल ।

अन्तय् थन समाज नृतत्वया खँ न्ह्यथनागु खः । विज्ञान नृतत्वया खँ नं थथे हे हाकनं न्ह्य ब्वयेगु कुतः याये । थ्व प्रविधियात मेकथं हे स्वये माःगु जूगुलिं थन न्ह्यमथनेगु विचा याना । अस्तु ! !

२०५४ श्रावण मसान्त, वाः हिति ।



नेवाः विज्ञानया निर्मातापि[1]

(नेपाल भाषा जक मखु नेवाः वाङमयूया दुग्यंक अध्ययन अनुसंधान याना विश्वय् नेपाल संस्कृति व परम्परायात न्हायूकनय् थें क्यनाः न्ह्य ब्वयाः नेवाः विज्ञानया सिजर्ना याना दीपिं विदेशी विद्वान भाजु मयेजुपिं म्हसीका बियेगु तातुनाः थन च्याम्ह विद्वान पिनिगु बःचा हाकलं परिचय न्ह्यब्वया च्वना । थन दु मध्याःपिं Declan Quigley, John K. Locke, Gregory Sharkey, Bruce Owen , Gerard Toffin, Neil Gutschow, Hiroshi Ishii, Kajumi Yoshizaki, Taka Oka , Robert Levy, Gert Wegner पिनिगु परिचय च्वया छोया हयेत इनाप याना च्वना - सं.)

अस्तिन हेल Austine Hale

नेवाः भायूयात विश्व न्यंकं म्हसीका बीगु व प्रचार यायेगु ज्याय् डा. अस्तिन हेलया योगदान गुबलें हे लोमंके मज्यु । समर इन्स्टिच्यूट अफ लिङगुइस्टिक्स या परियोजनाय् संलग्न जुया नेपाः दुहां झाम्ह थ्वयेकः भाजु अस्तिन हेलजु नेपाल भाषाय् दुसुना च्वंगु यकों यकों भाषिक विषेशतायात विश्वया ततः धंगु सम्मेलनय् ब्वतिकयाः नेपाल भाषाया अध्ययन अनुसंधान याये मागु खँ न्ह्यब्वया दिल । वेकलं थौतक च्वया दीगु नीन्यापुं मयाक नेपाल भाषा सम्बन्धि अनुसंधानात्मक च्वसुत मध्यय् सन १९७१ सालय् लिथो याना पिहां वःगु Person Marker:Conjunct and Disjunct Forms. Topics in Newari Grammar I तसकं महत्वपूर्ण जू । थ्व च्वसु कथं नेपाल भाषाय् क्रियाया रुपावली हिलीगु पहः (गुकेयात झीसं आत्म व परया भेद धया च्वना) विश्वया मेमेगु भाय् नाप ज्वःमलाः । अले वयां लिपा सन १९८० पाखे व हे च्वसु संशोधन जुयाः Person Markers: Finite Conjunct and Disjunct Verb Forms in Newari नामं पिहाँ वसेलि आधुनिक नेपाल भाषाया वैज्ञानिक अध्ययन अुनसंधान याये मागु वाःचायेकल । अले ला विश्वया नां जाःपिं भाषाविद् पिंगु मिखा तग्वल । झी नेवाः तेसं वेकःयात माछि कथं सन्मान बीमाम्ह व्यक्ती खः । नेपाल भाषाया नां दंम्ह भाषाबिद् व साहित्यकार च्वमि भाजु ईश्वरानन्द श्रेष्ठाचार्य नाप संयुक्त रूपं ज्यायानाः वेकःयात विश्वय् म्हसीका बीगुली थ्वयेक डा. अस्तिन हेलजुया यकों तिवः दु ।

उल्रीके कोल्वर Ulrike Kolver

थ्वयेकः मयेजु डा.उल्रीके कोल्भर जर्मनीया कोलोन विश्व विद्यालयं नेपाल भाषा विषय दुग्यंक अध्ययन यानाः दकले न्हापां पीएच.डी.पास याना दीम्ह बिदेशी खः । थ्वयेकःयात च्वसापासां 'भाषा जवाः' या बेतालिं नं चीका तःगु दु । वेकलं जर्मनी व अंग्रजि भासं च्वया दीगु आपालं च्वसुत मध्यय् प्रा. बर्न हार्ड कोल्वर नाप जानाः च्वया दीगु सन १९७५या On Newari noun Inflection यकों महत्व दु । छुं दँ न्हयः तिनि वेकलं भाषाबिद् भाजु ईश्वरानन्द श्रेष्ठाचार्य नाप जानाः समसामयिक नेपाल भाषाया शव्दकोश (Contemporary Newari-English Dictionary) जमर्न पिकया दीगु दु । नेपाल भाषायात विश्वय् न्यंकं प्रचार यायेगु इवलय् मयेजु डा. कोलबरया देन न्ह्याको बयान याःसां म्हो हे जक जुई ।

टड टी. लुइस् Todd T. Lewis

गुम्हसित झीसं तःधिकाजि धकाः नं म्हस्यु अमेरिकाया छम्ह तसकं हे नां जाःम्ह नृतत्व शास्त्री खः । वेकलं सन १९८० निसें नेपाः झाया भोताहितिया दगूबाहालय् दं दं च्वना असं त्वाःया उदास नेवाःतयेगु समाजय् प्यपुना च्वंगु धर्म व संस्कृति बारे दुग्यंक अध्ययन अनुसंधान याना अमेरिकाया कोलम्बिया विश्व विद्यालयं पी.एच. डी. याना दिल । थौकन्हय् वेकः तधि भाज अमेरिकाया College of Holy Crossय् धर्म

[1] *Newaah Vijnaanayaa nirmaataapin* ' Builder's of Newar Studies' Editor: (DS)

शास्त्र अध्ययन विभागया प्राध्यापक जुया च्वना दीगु दु । वेकः या पिहाँ वये धुँकूगु आपालं च्वसु त मध्यय् Newars and Tibetans in the Kathmandu Valley: Ethnic Boundaries and Religious history, Contributions to the History of Nepal: Eastern Newar Diaspora Settlements नेवा वाङमय अध्ययनया लागी तसकं च्वछाये बहःजु ।

लिण्डा इल्तिस Linda Iltis

नेपाया द्यो प्याखँ बारे अध्ययनयापिं मध्य् मयेजु लिण्डा इल्तिस गुबलें लोमनी मखुम्ह अमेरिकाया नां जाःम्ह छम्ह अनुसंधान कर्ता खः । वेकलं यलया जल प्याखँ बारे दुग्यंक अनुसंधान याना दिल । सन १९७५ निसें नेपाःया भ्रमण यानाः नेवा तय् स्वस्थानिया बाखँ पुवंक अध्ययन अनुसंधान यानाः अंग्रेजी भासं अनुवाद याना दिम्ह थ्वयेक हे मयेजु खः । अले लां लां बन्दिपुरय् च्वना अनया नेवा तेगु बारे दुग्यंक अनुसंधान यानाः अनया नेवाः तयेत विश्वय् न्यंकं म्हसीका बिल । थौकन्हय् वेकः मयेजु लिण्डा अमेरिकाया वाशिङ्टन युनिभर्सिटी या अन्तरराष्ट्रीय अध्ययन विभागय् दक्षिण एशियाया संस्कृति ब्वंका च्वना दीगु दु । थ्वयेकलं Cultural Anthropology and South Asian Civilizationa and Cuture बारे शोध प्रबन्ध च्वया विस्कन्सिन विश्वविध्यालयं पीएच. डी. पास याना दीम्ह खः ।

तेर एलिङ्सन Ter Ellingson

थ्वयकः भाजु तेर एलिङ्सन नं नेवाः वाङमय थकायेगु ज्या फयां फछि तिवः बिया च्वना दिम्ह खः । वेकः थौकन्हय् अमेरिकाया सियाटल शहरय् च्वंगु वासिङ्टन विश्वविद्यालयया एथ्नो म्यूजिकोलोजी विभागय् प्राध्यापक जुया च्वना दीगु दु । Anthropology and Buddhist Studies विषय सन १९७० सं विस्कन्सिन विश्वविध्यालयं पीएच. डी. याना दीम्ह थ्वेकः भाजु तेर सन १९७३ निसें नेपाःया भ्रमण याना दिल । अले नेवाः संस्कृतिबारे अध्ययन अनुसंधान नं याना दिल । नेवाः सम्बन्धि पिहां वये धुंकूगु च्वसु मध्यय् The Mathmatics of the Newar Buddhist Music, va Naasadya:,Newar god of Music तसकँ च्वछाये बहः जूः ।

देविद् हार्ग्रिभ्स David Hargreaves

थ्व अजू चाया पुगु खँ खः । बिदेशी विद्वान पिनिगु मिखा नेपाल भाषाय् छाय् क्वसाल । नेपाल भाषाय् गज्यागु विशेषता दु गूगु मेमेगु भाषाय् मदु । थ्व खँ वाचायेकूपिं मध्यय् अमेरिकाया प्राध्यापक भाजु देविद् हार्ग्रिभ्स नं खः गुम्ह सिनं नेपालय् निक ति झाया नेपाःया नव युवक तयेगु पुचलय् हेल मेल जुया ल्हाना भाय् लय् (Discourse) लिकुना च्वंगु विशेषताय् वातु वाला दिल अले वहे ज्यां नेपाल भाषा नाप मनोविज्ञानया क्वातूगु स्वापू दूगु खँ सीका नेवाः तयेसं चायेकं मचायेकं याइगु ज्या या किपा भायूया माध्यमं पिज्वया च्वनी धका: The Concept of the Intentional Action In the Grammar of Kathmandu Newari नांगु शोध प्रवन्ध च्वया पीएच. डी. पास याना दिल । थ्वयेकः भाजु हार्ग्रिभ्स तिब्बती-बर्मी भायूया नां दंम्ह विशेषज्ञ प्रा. स्कट डेलान्सीया शिष्य जुया नेवाः भायूया दुग्यंगु अध्ययन यानादिल । हालय् तिनि नेवाः तयेसं खँल्हाइबलय् छ्यलीगु 'धाल' व 'हं' या भिन्नता बारे अमेरिकाया सान्ता बार्बराया क्यालिफोर्निया विश्व विद्यालय जूगु स्वकःगु Himalayan Languages Symposium सं ज्यापौ न्ह्य ब्वया दीगु दु । थ्वयेकः नं झीसं लोमंके मज्यूम्ह विद्वान खः ।

क्यारोल जेनेटी Carol Genetti

नेपाल भाषायात विश्वय न्यंकं प्रचार प्रसार यायेगु ज्याय् थ्वयेक मयेजु क्यारोल जेनेटीया नं तधंगु ल्हाः दु । विशेषयाना नेपाल भाषायात ऐतिहासिक भाषा विज्ञानया मिखाँ स्वयेगु ज्याय् जेनेटीया यको यको देन दु । जर्मनीतयेगु सक्रियताय् नेपालय् जूगु भाषा सवेक्षणय् संलग्न जुया दीम्ह डा. अलफोन वाइडर्टया मिखा दोलखा भाय् प्रति कोसाःगु खँ मयेजु जेनेटीयात कंसेली दोलखा भायूया अध्ययन यायेजु ज्या झोछुना दीगु खः । वेकलं सन १९८८ पाखे च्वयादीगु A Contrastive Study of the Dolakhali and Kathmandu Newari Dialects. नांगु च्वसु पिहां

वसेंलि डा. अस्तीन हेल जुं न्ह्यथना दीगु नेपाल भाषाया 'आत्म व पर' या भेद जक नेपाल भाषाया मू विशेषता मखु धैगु प्रमाणित जुल। थ्वयेक: मयेजु जेनेटीया थ्व च्वसु पिहां वसेंलि नेपाल भाषाया स्वापू नेपालय् ल्हाईगु किराती भाय्या नं संतान भापिये मा:गु खँ याना विश्वय् नां जा:पिं तिब्बति-बर्मी भाषा विद पिनिगु ध्यान थुखे पाखे साल। अलेला मयेजु जेनेटी यात गाक्क हौसला दत। अकें नेपाल भाषाया थ्व हे भाषिका बारे दुग्यंक अध्ययन अनुसंधान याना दिया: सन १९९० पाखे A Descriptive and Historical Account of the Dolakha Newari Dialect नांगु शोध प्रबन्ध च्वया: पिएच. डी. याना दिल। थ्वयेक: मयेजुया अनुसंधानं नेपाल भाषायात सयें भाय् थें असार्बनामिक भाय् धका धयावया च्वंगुयात सार्बनामिकया धलखय् नं दुथ्याके ज्यू धैगु खँ पिहाँ वल। थ्व खं याना: भाषिक परिवार निर्धारण याईपिंत तधंगु समस्या पिहांवल। मयेजु डा. जेनेटी थौकन्हय् क्यालिफोर्निया युनिभर्सिटी सान्ताबार्बराय् भाषा विज्ञानया प्राध्यापक जुया च्वना दीगु दु।

देविद गेल्नर David Gellner

भाजु देविद गेल्नर छम्ह नं नेवा: तयेगु धर्म व संस्कृतियात विश्वय् न्ह्यब्वया दीम्ह छम्ह लुमंके बह:म्ह व्यक्ति ख:। येल देया नेवा: समाजय् प्यदँ तक हेल मेल जुया नेवा बौद्ध तयेगु सामाजिक व सांस्कृतिक विश्लेषण याना दीम्ह न्हापांम्ह बेलायतया विद्वान ख:। वकलं यल हिरण्यवर्ण महाविहार (क्वा: बहा:) या शाक्य समाज बारे दुग्यंक अध्ययन अनुसंधान याना दिल। नेवा:बौद्ध तयेगु महायान, वज्रयान परम्पराय् थ:गु विश्लेषणात्मक मिखा ब्वया दिल। अले बेलायतया आक्सफोर्ड युनिभसिटी शोध प्रबन्ध ल:ल्हाना: पि.एच.डी पास याना दिल। वहे शोध प्रबन्ध लिपा सन १९९२ सं **Monk, Householder and Tantric Priest** नांगु सफू Cambridge University Press पाखें पिहां वल। संसारय् तिब्बती बौद्ध धर्मया प्रचार प्रसार गुलि जुया च्वन उलि नेवा: बौद्ध धर्मया ब्यापकता खने मदु। तर डा. भाजु गेल्नरया थ्व सफूति नेवा बौद्ध तयेगु विशेषता न्ह्य ब्वया च्वंगु जुल। थौकन्हय् डा.भाजु गेल्नरजु बेलायतया ब्रुनेल युनिभर्सिटी समाज शास्त्रया प्राध्यापक जुया च्वना दीगु दु। नेवा: समाज यात विश्वय् न्यंक म्हसीका बीगु वेक:यागु देन झीसं लोमंके फैमखु।

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'नेवा: विज्ञान' बारे सुनां छु धाल ?

* त्यहां अमेरिकामा सेवाको नेतृत्वमा नेपाल विषय अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय नेवा: विज्ञान' नाउंको एउटा जर्नल संचालन गर्ने अठोट गर्नु भएकोमा अत्यन्त सहानीय अथवा खुशीको कुरा हो। (१-२-९७) - **लिलाभक्त मुनकर्मी**, भक्तपुर

* यें (सन्ध्या टाईम्स) त:दँ न्ह्यव: निसें अमेरिकाया ओरेगन विश्व विद्यालय ब्वना आ: पोर्टलैण्डय् मालेज्या याना च्वंम्ह भाषाविद् दयारत्न शाक्यं (दरशा नेवा:मिं) आ थ्व हे व ईगु न्हु दँ १११८या लस्ताय अमेरिकां 'ए जर्नल अफ नेवारोलोजी' (नेवा: विज्ञान) नांगु दँपौ पिकया दी त्यंगु खं सी दूगु दु। उगु दँपतिइ नेपाल भाषा लगायत नेपाली अंग्रेजी, हिन्दी, जर्मन, फ्रेञ्च, जापानी आदी भासं समेत नेवा:तय् भाषा जाती, संस्कृति, इतिहास परम्परा रहन सहन आदी विषय च्वया त:गु च्वसुत दु थ्या ईगु खँ धा:गु दु। दँपौया लागी नेपा: पाखें नं नेवा: भासं थ्व विषय च्वया त:गु च्वसु थनया ज्ञानमाला भजन खल: स्वयम्भुया नाय:शान्त रत्न शाक्य मार्फत छोया हयेत इनाप या:गु दु।

-**संन्ध्या टाइम्स**' अनाला गा: ४ १११६

* विश्व भुमी न्हिपतिइ नेवा विज्ञान वा Newarology या ग्वसाः बारे ब्वनागु खः । नेवाः विज्ञान धैगु विषय युनिभर्सिटी ब्वंकेगु व्यबस्था याये फुसा बेश, थुकी निथी मत दै मखु । -लाभ रत्न तुलाधर, सम्पादक 'न्हसलां, यें नेपाः

* वैगु न्हूदँया लस्ताय् अमेरिकाय् छिगु हे सम्पादनय् 'नेवाः विज्ञान' (A Journal of Newarology) नांगु पत्रिका पिदने त्यंगु खँ थन 'विश्व भूमी' न्हिपतिइ स्वये दयाः तसकं लये ताया । नेवा भाय्, संस्कृति कला, इतिहास आदि विषयय् केन्द्रित जुया पिदनीगु उगु जर्नल पाखें नेवाः संस्कृतिया संरक्षण व विकासय् अवश्य नं यक्को योगदान जू वनी धैगु आशा याना । लिसें थज्यागु महत्वपुर्ण पलाः ल्ह्वना दीगुलिं छिक पिन्त दु नुगलं निसें सुभाय् नं देछाया च्वना । -माणिक वज्राचार्य, लोटस रिसर्च सेन्टर, ललितपुर

* "नेवाः विज्ञान पिदनीगु बुखँ ब्वनाः यलयापिसं फोनय् खँल्हा बल्हा यनाः आमकनया थाय् बाय् माल धाःपिन्त बियागु खः । ग्वम्ह सिनं स्वापू तल खः मस्यू । येंया पिन्के स्वया यलयापिके भचा च्यूताः दु ।"

"नेवाः विज्ञानया निम्ति च्वसुत पवनाः लां लां विज्ञापन विश्वभूमी पिदन । तर थ्व विषय सुनां गुलि च्वयता काल धईगु मस्यू । सके च्वसु त आमकन हे छोया हल जुईमाः नेपालय् भाय् धकाः हाली इपिं ला यक्को हे दु तर भाषाया लागी ज्या याईपिं तसकं म्हो जक दु ।" (९-१०-९७)
-शान्तरत्न शाक्य, अध्यक्ष, स्वयम्भू ज्ञानमाला भजन खल, यें

* छिगु "नेवाः विज्ञान" पिथनाया खँय् थन विश्व भुमी पिहाँ वःगु विज्ञापन खनाः तसकं लयूताः वल । नेपाः स्वया नः उलि मछि तापाक्क च्वनाः थः मां भाय् व देया भाषा संस्कृति व कला आदि खँया विचाः याना नेपाः पाखें थि थि कथं च्वसु म्हया थः मां भाय्या सफू पिकाय् त्यंगु खंय् यक्क यक्क सु भाय् बिया च्वना ।(७-११-९७) -चन्द्र मान मुनिकार आनन्दकुटी विद्यापीठ, काठमाडौ, नेपाल

*श्री शान्त रत्न दाई नं छिगु पौ क्यनाः नेवारोलोजी (नेवाः शास्त्र)या प्रसार याये निंतिं च्वसु छगू माल धकाः धया दिल । जि नं काठमाडौ नं पिहां वने मालाः याकनं सिधयेके मफुत । जिं थौ कन्हे झीगु 'नेवाः नृतत्व (नेवार आन्थ्रोलोजी) तैयार यायेत कोशीस याना च्वनागुलिं थ्व हे सिलसिलायागु छगू अुसन्धान च्वसु छ्वया हयागु दु । थुकी वाद-विवाद अनेक वयेफु वक्कयात स्वागत याये धकाः तातुनागु दु । छिगु कुतः नेवाः शास्त्रयात भिंतुना देछाये ।

-देवि चन्द्र श्रेष्ठ, संम्पादक 'आर्थिक नेपाल'

* तापाक च्वनाः नं नेवाः भाय्या लागि अने कथं कुतःयाना च्वंपिं पासापिं खनाः बाः (भाजु दुर्गा लाल श्रेष्ठ) यक्को हे लये ताया च्वंगु दु । सकलें पासा पिन्त इमि सकतां ज्या सुथां लायेमा धकाः दु नुगः लं निसें सुवाः ब्यूगु खँ नं सक सितं कना ब्यु । (१०-१-९७)
-सुमन श्रेष्ठ, यें , नेपाः

(थथे थःथःगु प्रतिक्रिया चोयाहयाः हःपा ब्यूपिं फुकसितं व विश्वभुमिं न्हिपौया विशेष ग्वाहालिया लागि अ.ने.भा.से.स.पाखें सुभाय् देछाया च्वना । अंग्रेजी भासं वःगु फुंक Pre-publication Responses सं स्वया दिसं । -दरशा (सं)

Announcement

A Conference on Buddhist Heritage of Nepal Mandala

We are happy to announce that Lotus Research Centre, Lalitpur , Kathmandu is going to organize a Conference on the 'Buddhist Heritage of Nepal Mandal' at Birendra International Convention Centre, Baneshvar, Kathmandu from 20 to 24 October 1998. We have planned to invite national and international scholars of Newa Buddhist culture of the Kathmandu valley to the Conference. Below is some information about the Conference:

OBJECTIVES OF THE CONFERENCE

to promote researches and studies for the preservation and promotion of Newa culture.
to disseminate the findings of the research and studies on Buddhist Culture in the Kathmandu valley.
to discuss different aspects of Newa Culture and hence introduce it to the world.
to exhibit the Buddhist lifestyle in the Kathmandu valley.
to promote national and international cultural exchange.
to create awareness among people by showing them the beauty and significance of the Newa Culture.

CONFERENCE THEME
'Buddhist Heritage of Nepal for a Better Life'.

CONFERENCE DATE AND VENUE

The Conference will be held in the Birendra International Convention Centre, Baneswar, Kathmandu from October 20th -24th 1998.

LANGUAGE
The languages of the conference will be Nepali, Nepal Bhasa and English.

PARTICIPATION

This conference is open to all individuals who are interested in Newah culture of Kathmandu valley and who want to contribute to the preservation and promotion of Newah Buddhist Heritage.

CALL FOR PAPERS

Three days of the conference will be devoted to paper presentations by conference participants in twelve concurrent sessions. Papers are invited on any aspect of Newah Buddhist Heritage.

Full papers or abstracts of the papers should be received by May 30, 1998. Submitted papers will be examined by the Conference Organizing Committee and authors will benotified whether their paper has been accepted for presentation.

Manik Bajracharya, Organizer
LOTUS RESEARCH CENTER
PO BOX No. 59
Lalitpur, Nepal

Pre-publication Responses

* I wish you well in your efforts to network among scholars interested in things on Newars.(9/17/97) **-Dr. Austin Hale,Sweden**

* On question of "Newarology". I too think it not good English usage. Usually the "ology" suffix is used for the "study of" inanimate things (geology, philology etc.) or group names that are less personal, (sinology" for example). Newar Studies is probably the best option in my view.(9/9/97)
-Prof.Todd Lewis, Kathmandu, Nepal

* Newar Studies is better than Newarology which reminds me of old-fashioned words like Indology etc. Newar Studies can be translated into Nepal Bhasha as words like Newar Vijnaan or Newar Adhyayana.(9/13/97) **-Prof.Tej Ratna Kansakar,TU, Kathmandu**

* Recently, in the Viswabhoomi daily I found your ad and e-mail addess and it encouraged me to write a few words to you. As I remember you have told me about this journal couple of years before... Wish you all the best.(6/2/97) **-Malla K.Sunder, Nepal Bhasha Academy, Kathmandu**

* Thanks for sending us your proposal of a journal on Newar Studies. I am particularly glad to receive this. **-Dr. Ulrike Kolver, Germany**

*Thanks for sending me the announcement of the new journal. I wish it all the best.(6/2/97)

-Dr. David Gellner University of Brunel,UK

* A Journal devoted to Newar studies is most worthwhile. (8/1/97)
-Steven Parish, University of California, San diego

* Please send me information about the Journal of projected journal. I was shown a copy of the announcement while visiting Tribhuvan University last month. My interest is in Newari languge, on which I will be working with Dr. Sishir Sthapit of the Dept of Education.
-Edward H. Bendix CUNY, New York, USA

* It's great to hear from you about the new journal that you are editing, I'm very interested in getting information about becoming a subscriber. **-Mary Jo O'Rouke, Australia**

* I received your note and I would like to know more about the Newarology studies you are initiating. Barbara Johnson frequently mentioned your name as we meet and has a very high opinion of you. You are an important member of the community from whom lots of help and advises will be forthcoming. It will be a great opportunity to know you in course of time.
-Tribhuvan Tuladhar, Ex-President NPPA, Washington DC

* I am very excited about this new journal. It would help, preserve and promote Newar language that may otherwise vanish or loose its identity.(8/3/97)
-Dr.Devendra M. Amatya North Carolina State Uiversity,USA

* "Congratulation! on your commendable attempt to bring out this journal to preserve and promote the Newar language and customs and traditions of the Newars." 9/11/97
-Nirmal M. Tuladhar, CNAS,TU, Nepal

* Being born in the Newar activist family and being a Newar researcher by myself I can't express in words that how glad am I to hear about coming journal on Newars. It is a very good start, I think.
-Bhikkhu Sugandha,Brunel University,UK

* I read with big interest about your publication of the Newar culture, and I want to ask you if it would be possible to get a copy of your journal.

-Nasma Scheibler-Shrestha, Zurich, Switzerland

* I heard about Newaa Vijnaana at the meetings in Wisconsin this fall. Good luck with your journal I look forward to it. **-Barbara Johnson, Virginia USA**

* I am glad to know that you are doing a good job on Nepal Bhasa in the US.

-Juhee Suwal, Edmonton, Canada

* I was most excited to learn about your efforts on new Journal. Good luck and look forward to being kept informed. (9/3/97) **-Rima D. Pradhan, Lyneham, Australia**

* On behalf of NPPA members, I would like to take this opportunity to thank those individuals who spend their time and effort in bringing out this journal. I hope every one will provide both moral and monetary support to continue this publication.

-Tulsi Maharjan, Ph.D, President,
Nepaa Paasaa Puchah America

Panel, Book Review and Translation

If you would like to organize a panel on Newar Studies in the South Asian Conference (1998) in University of Wisconsin, Madison, Please send your name and panalists by May 1998 to:

Frof. Mohan Narayan Shrestha
Department Of Geogrphy
Bowling Green State University
Bowling Green, OH 43402 USA
E-mail: mshrest@andy.bgsu.edu

Any submission of paper, book review, translated work and information related to Newars, please send it to following address:

Daya R. Shakya
PO. Box 90581
Portland OR 97290
E- mail : Drasha @ AOL. COM
Ph/Fax (503)- 777-4593

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All south Asian Contributors can also send their subnission by mail to:

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c/o Siddhi R, Shakya
P.O. Box 571
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च्वसु छोया हयेत ईनाप

अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय नेपालभाषा सेवा समितिया पिथना

नेवाः विज्ञान

(Newāh Vijñāna)

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१) च्वसु नेवाःजातीनाप सम्बन्धित मौलिक व अनुसंधानात्मक जुयेमा । भाषा, साहित्य, कला, संगीत, वा सामाजिकशास्त्रया न्ह्यागुं विषय ।

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This journal exclusively deals with the Newar language, culture, art, history, customs, traditions, religion, biography and the research information on Newars around the world etc.

Please send us papers and information on Newars living in any part of the World as well as the research work being conducted on and about them.

*

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